

# Annual Making of America Issue

# TIME



## The Dangerous Mind of Mark Twain

How he changed  
the way we  
view politics

Why he was ahead  
of his time on race

What his writing  
can teach  
America today

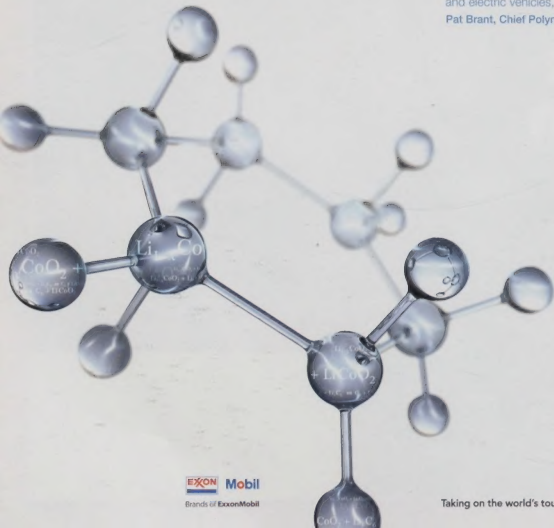
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## 4 | TO OUR READERS

6 | 10 QUESTIONS Editor Arianna Huffington

8 | POSTCARD: ST. LOUIS

9 | INBOX



Arianna Huffington On citizen journalists, page 6

## BRIEFING

11 | THE MOMENT What the mess at ground zero says about the U.S.

12 | THE WORLD Wildfires ravage Northern California; a French court fines eBay over fake designer bags

14 | VERBATIM Will Smith on playing Obama; Bloomberg on a horrifying video

17 | POLITICS Obama and Bill Clinton make nice

18 | HISTORY The may hairpin turns of the world's most famous bike race

19 | POP CHART Does Lindsay Lohan have a secret half sister?

20 | MILESTONES Farewell to an Indian war hero and a legendary editor

## COMMENTARY

21 | TUNED IN James Poniewozik critiques celebrity ecotainment

23 | IN THE ARENA Joe Klein on supporting vets who return home

Madonna Tabloid fodder yet again, page 19



PAGE 4 11 21 24 46 59 65 72



Poker or craps? The candidates and their bets, page 30



Mark Twain The taboo-breaking funnyman, page 46

On the cover: Portrait for TIME by Michael J. Deas

## THE WELL

24 | WORLD: BIN LADEN Why he's still a threat, even in the shadows

28 | COMMENTARY How to thwart Mugabe

30 | NATION: CAMPAIGN '08 Both candidates are shrewd gamblers

32 | NATION: CAMPAIGN '08 The Catholic vote is up for grabs

36 | NATION: LAW The surprising high court

38 | NATION: GAS The upside of \$4 a gallon

40 | SCIENCE: ENVIRONMENT Planet in Peril Soaking up carbon emissions

## COVER STORY

46 | MAKING OF AMERICA Mark Twain Why John Stewart, Barack Obama and the rest of us owe a debt to this authentic voice of American contrarianism

## LIFE

59 | FOOD Amid rising food prices, we ask Tom Colicchio and other big-name chefs to create a gourmet meal on the cheap

62 | HEALTH Stem-cell therapy is now being used to treat arthritis and other ailments in dogs, cats and horses

62 | USER'S GUIDE Why you should download Firefox's free Web browser pronto

## ARTS

65 | BOOKS Best-selling authors and two Pulitzer Prize winners share their guilty pleasures for summer reading

69 | MUSIC Rapper Lil Wayne gives his songs away for free—and still makes millions

71 | DOWNTIME Beck's depressive tunes are a joy to hear; PBS's "car-toon" is a real clunker

Lil Wayne Making rap relevant again, page 69

72 | ESSAY Nancy Gibbs on why summer camp may be the last hope for kids to learn basic social skills



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To Our Readers

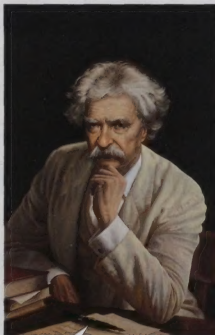
# The Mark of Twain.

America's first political funnyman continues to leave his indelible mark on our humor, our literature and our desire to attain racial equality

IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM, we read *Huck Finn* in the eighth grade. For a kid from the suburbs, the picaresque story of Huck and Jim was wonderfully exotic. Who wouldn't want to live along the Mississippi and drift down the river on a skiff? The buddy story of Huck and Jim was not only a model of American adventure and literature but also of deep friendship and loyalty. It's not hard to see why Ernest Hemingway said all of American literature can be traced back to Mark Twain. Plus, Twain was funny, the hardest trick of all.

Mark Twain is the subject of our seventh annual Making of America issue. We chose him—after a succession of Presidents: Jefferson, Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Kennedy, as well as explorers Lewis and Clark and inventor Ben Franklin—because he represents a vital tradition in American politics and culture: the comic commentator on serious matters, the funnyman as our collective conscience who can utter uncomfortable truths that more solemn critics evade. In an election year when so many Americans are getting their news from nontraditional sources, Twain is the godfather of Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert as well as the comic voices who influenced them, from Lenny Bruce to Richard Pryor to Kurt Vonnegut. And Twain, with *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, created the literary DNA that helped shape race relations in America over the past century.

We asked Roy Blount Jr., a literary humorist in the Twain tradition, to put the author in perspective. In his essay, Roy plumbs Twain's deeply contrarian



**Righting instrument** Twain called the Conklin's self-filling pen, which he endorsed in advertisements beginning in 1903, a "profanity saver" because it wouldn't roll off his desk

nature and his abiding sadness and even bitterness at what he saw as collective human folly. For Twain's influence on race relations, we asked novelist and scholar Stephen L. Carter to address Twain's views on slavery and African Americans. There have been few books more controversial in U.S. history than *Huck Finn*, but Carter concludes that the novel is profoundly antislavery and that Twain pioneered the sophisticated literary attack on racism. The cover package is introduced and edited by our own Richard Lacayo, who also produced our Teddy Roosevelt issue.

For the fifth time, portrait artist Michael J. Deas has created our cover. He does painstaking research into his subjects and takes about 12 weeks to finish a painting. At left, you see the full portrait (on the cover, we crop the image much closer), which shows Deas's obsession with detail, down to one of the fountain pens Twain favored. The pen, made by Conklin Pen Co., originally of Toledo, Ohio, had a ridge on it that prevented the pen from moving. "I prefer it," said Twain in a 1903 endorsement, "because it is a profanity saver; for it cannot roll off the desk." The pen is still being made today. And like the pen he used, Twain is still in fine form, bold and clear and penetrating.

*Pick*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

## The Making of America

For the past six years, timed to the Fourth of July, *TIME* has explored a person, or team, who shaped U.S. history



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# 10 Questions.

The Greek-born conservative turned liberal editor of the *Huffington Post* is helping change political coverage of the 2008 election. **Arianna Huffington will now take your questions**



**Video at Time.com**

To watch a video interview with Arianna Huffington and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)

**Conservatives complain that the media have a bias to the left. Do you believe that this is true?**

*Mike Kovanda, DAVIS, ILL.*

The problem with the media is not that they're veering to the left or to the right but that they have an addiction to presenting two sides to every issue, even when the truth lies on one side or the other. I'd much rather we make our preferences and points of view transparent than pretend we don't have them.

**How do you think blogs have changed the field of reporting?**

*Rob Opaleski, CHICAGO*

First of all, it's made clear this is a 24/7 operation. Professional journalists have had the opportunity to write about what is happening in real time, which wasn't happening much before.

**Huffington Post blogger Mayhill Fowler reported on two activities, one of which reporters were not invited to, at the other of which she did not state she was a newperson. Is this the proper way to do business?**

*Bernard Awtry  
NEWTON, MASS.*

The Obama fund raiser was clearly not off-the-record. The Clinton rope line was a public event. These are really the new rules of engagement. Citizen journalists are expanding the coverage of campaigns.

**What is the biggest story that the traditional media have completely ignored?**

*Kevin Judge, CHAPEL HILL, N.C.*  
Here's an interesting thing about the traditional media:



very often they break great stories, and then they ignore them. It takes the blogosphere to pursue the story, to do all the things that turn a story into a major event.

**Why did you make the transition from conservative to liberal?**

*Paul Hoehne, OAKTON, VA.*  
I left the Republican Party [because] my views of the role of government changed. I used to think that the private

sector would solve many of the major problems we are facing—poverty, inequality. And then I saw firsthand that this wasn't going to happen.

**Do you consider yourself a Democrat now or an independent?**

*Lainey Sickinger  
RENTON, WASH.*  
I consider myself a Democrat, because although I would love to see third parties thrive in America, I recognize that's not going to happen in 2008.

**What can liberal politicians learn from Republican tactics?**

*Jack Bini, NEW YORK CITY*

Go after your opponent's strengths. That was Karl Rove's great gift to the Republican Party. If we translate that into Barack Obama's campaign, it would mean recognizing John McCain's strength is the perception he would be better for our national security, and Obama needs to go after that.

**Do you think there is room today for a politician to change positions without being referred to as a flip-flopper?**

*Jose Rodriguez, WASHINGTON*  
Absolutely. If circumstances change and new evidence is made available, I think it's important for a politician to be able to say transparently, I'm changing my position because of X, Y or Z. Very often politicians like to seamlessly move to a new position without really explaining that it is a changed position.

**How has your personal immigrant experience shaped your understanding of America?**

*John L. Chapman  
SAN PEDRO, CALIF.*

I'm very grateful that this is my home. As an immigrant, I see immigration as an essential part of this country, and that's why I'm very troubled when immigrants are demonized.

**Would you ever consider running for public office again?**

*Ken Volok  
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.*  
No. I love my day job. ■





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# Postcard: St. Louis. With its iconic brewery the object of a takeover bid, the city contemplates life without one of its great institutions. Last call for Anheuser-Busch

BY DAVID VON DREHLE



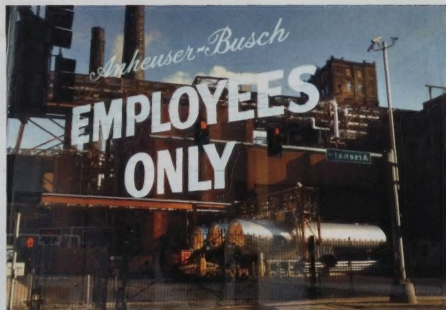
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For a new postcard from around the world every day, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

**P**OR ST. LOUIS, MO. EVERYONE HAS a tear or two for gritty cities facing hard times—for the Detroit, the Cleveland—but who spares a thought for the elegant dowager reduced to re-using tea bags? St. Louis was always the Midwestern city with an Athenian heart, birthing musicians and poets and hosting, in one zenith year, both the World's Fair and the Summer Olympics.

Unfortunately, that zenith was 104 years ago. The fourth largest U.S. city in 1900 doesn't make the top 50 today, ranking somewhere between Wichita, Kans., and Bakersfield, Calif. But just as St. Louis thought it had bottomed out (posting its first population gain in a half-century, up to 353,537), along comes another blow.

St. Louis-based superbrewer Anheuser-Busch, home to Budweiser and its famous Clydesdale horses, is scrambling to avoid an unwanted takeover by InBev, the world's No. 1 beermaker. A Belgian company run by Brazilian moneybags, InBev is known for squeezing the fat from its acquisitions. The bruised citizenry of St. Louis worry that good jobs and corporate philanthropy—hallmarks of Anheuser-Busch—will fall into that category. "It's scary," says Loreen Grable, an events planner enjoying a sack lunch in the shadow of the Gateway Arch, of the looming takeover. "We have the Cardinals and the brewery." Grable's friend Iris McDonald adds, "If you're from St. Louis, that's what you tell people about."

"They're maybe the greatest corporate citizen this community ever had," says Al Hrabosky, a local celebrity known as the "Mad Hungarian" for his antics as a star relief pitcher for the St. Louis Cardinals back when the Busch family owned the storied ball club. That's why more than 61,000 people, including the mayor of St. Louis and the governor of Missouri, have signed an electronic petition at [saveah.com](http://saveah.com). "Like baseball, apple pie and ice-cold beer



**Bottoms up** The specter of a buyout looms over the Gateway City's Anheuser-Busch brewery

(wrapped in a red-white-and-blue label), Anheuser-Busch is an American original," the manifesto declares.

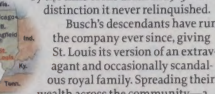
Anheuser-Busch is the legacy of enterprising German immigrant Adolphus Busch, who married the daughter of a middling brewer, Eberhard Anheuser, in 1861. Brewing the blond and foamy lager of his native land and seizing on the science of pasteurization, Busch built A-B into the biggest beermaker in the country by the time of his death in 1913—a distinction it never relinquished.

Busch's descendants have run the company ever since, giving St. Louis its version of an extravagant and occasionally scandalous royal family. Spreading their wealth across the community—a reported \$10 million in local charity last year alone—the Busches have made themselves synonymous with St. Louis. August A. Busch IV is the latest scion to run the firm, and he has announced steep cuts in expenses to try to fend off InBev. But no member of the sprawling Busch clan controls more than 1% of the company's stock, making it hard to mount a defense. And with the stock languishing

for years, some are reportedly interested in InBev's generous \$65-a-share offer.

The deal may ultimately come down to two words: money talks. (Muscular euros, in fact, speak very loudly right now.) That's old news to St. Louis, which had a peak population of about 850,000 in 1950, when the city was home to such corporations as Ralston-Purina, May Department Stores and McDonnell Douglas, many long since moved away or gobbled up. While Anheuser-Busch is not the biggest firm left standing—that honor goes to industrial conglomerate Emerson Electric—it is the most famous, an iconic American brand backed by one of the largest advertising budgets on earth. Every time an ad for Bud or Bud Light ends with the words *St. Louis, Missouri*, it's a shot in the arm for the hometown.

InBev is promising to maintain its North American headquarters in St. Louis. Not much, perhaps—"Who's to say what happens after a few years?" asks waiter DeAndre Jackson at the end of a recent lunch rush—but it could be enough to give this city a few more years of dignity. As for the Clydesdales—most of them moved to a farm in California years ago. ■



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# Business Books.

If you want to get rich, says magazine tycoon Felix Dennis, you can make a start by being poor, obsessed and a little bit of a jerk

BY ANDREA SACHS



## How to Get Rich: One of the World's Greatest Entrepreneurs Shares His Secrets

By Felix Dennis  
Portfolio; 291 pages

### FIVE HOMES. THREE

country estates. Luxury cars. Private jets. Thousands of bottles of fine wine in the cellars. Chauffeurs, housekeepers, financial advisers and staffers galore. Yes, the self-made British magazine magnate Felix Dennis is living the high life, and he is open—nay, brazen—about his desire to make more money, and lots of it. Dennis, the founder in 1995 of the bawdy “lad” magazine *Maxim* (which he sold last year with two smaller publications for a reported \$240 million), is from the “greed is good” school of business. Worth as much as \$900 million, he estimates, the author clearly thinks he has earned bragging rights, and he intends to exercise them.

Dennis, 61, is kind enough to tip his hand about what makes him so damn smart. He is not alone in that regard. *How to Get Rich*, a No. 1 best seller in the U.K., is the latest entry into the burgeoning entrepreneurial tell-all-book sweepstakes. Books in Print reports that the supply of titles written by entrepreneurs or about entrepreneurship has grown more than 60% since 2002, to more than 300 in 2007.

This one is unique in that buttoned-down field, though, owing to its massive authorial flamboyance. A born contrarian and self-promoter with a taste for the outrageous pronouncement, Dennis is given to advice like “If it flies, floats or fornicates, *always* rent it.” A published poet, Dennis loads the pages with dozens of quotations from such literary luminaries as Goethe and T.S. Eliot. By turns pretentious and earnest, the book is sui generis. At worst, it reads like a huge ego trip. But the author is nothing if not entertaining, even inspiring. The unvarnished title says it all: Dennis is an advo-

cate of driven, obsessive ambition, all in the service of what he happily refers to as “filthy lucre.”

So, what are the secrets of building a booming business? For one thing, he says, it helps to be young, penniless and inexperienced: “You have an advantage that neither education nor upbringing, nor even money, can buy—you have almost nothing. And therefore you have almost nothing to lose.” The author rhapsodizes about the energy and tech savvy of the young. If you have the misfortune of having acquired a few more years and become a comfortable senior manager or a professional, Dennis is skeptical about your entrepreneurial odds.

Other qualities are also needed, he says. Single-mindedness is requisite: “Tunnel vision helps. Being a bit of a s— helps. A thick skin helps. Stamina is crucial, as is a capacity to work so hard that your best friends mock you, your lovers despair and the rest of your acquaintances watch furtively from the sidelines, half in awe and half in contempt.” Whatever you do, don’t become a wage slave, writes Dennis. “The salary begins to have an attraction and addictiveness all of its own. A regular paycheck and crack cocaine have that in common.”

Don’t consider yourself a team player, he advises, even though you may have to pretend to be one. “Team spirit is for losers, financially speaking.” Ownership is for winners, though: “Ownership isn’t the important thing—it’s the *only* thing.... You must strive with every fiber of your being, while recognizing the idiocy of your behavior, to own and retain control of as near to 100% of any company as you can.”

*How to Get Rich* is a cautionary tale. Dennis is the first to tell you that you and your loved ones will pay a price for compulsively pursuing the almighty dollar (or the more valuable pound). The author, a lifetime bachelor, confides that his preoccupation with chasing money “led me into a lifestyle of narcotics, high-class whores, drink and consolatory debauchery.”

Dennis sets a financial bar that few if any of his readers are likely to reach, alas. From his estate in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, Dennis tells *TIME*, “It’s quite obvious that only a small number of people are actually going to become even the comfortably poor.” And how much do the comfortably poor have? “Four or five million bucks,” he replies. And be aware that in your climb, he stresses, “compulsion is mandatory.”



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# Inbox



## Walling Off Mexico

RE YOUR MEXICO-U.S. BORDER FENCE STORY: There's another aspect worth examining [June 30]. The illegals come to the U.S. seeking employment. Levying a hefty fine on employers who hire them—and no excuses for doing so—would do a lot toward deterring illegals' entry. No jobs, not so many illegals. And some of those who are here would want to go home.

W.B. McLain, YAKIMA, WASH.

WALLS DO NOT STOP INVASIONS: THE ANCIENT Chinese found this out the hard way; the French learned it in World War II; the Israelis are learning it now. The wall we are building to keep out Mexico is a terrible indictment of U.S. failures in diplomacy. It doesn't protect us from the outside; it traps us inside. We need to do better.

Jack Kessler, SAN FRANCISCO

"DOES AMERICA REALLY NEED TO WALL itself off?" Think 12 million to 20 million illegal invaders, tons of illegal drugs and more than a thousand associated deaths, just for starters. Then think of the joy of getting our grass cut on the cheap. Does any other country have such high values?

Edward Dougherty, FRANKLIN LAKE, N.J.

## Alcohol Exposure

JOHN CLOUD HAS IT RIGHT ABOUT DRINKING with family [June 30]. My brother and I were given wine at dinner by my parents

at a young age. My sons were raised that way as well. I drank too much once. My boys drink responsibly and never drink and drive. They are now raising their own families, and I expect that when their very young children are a bit older, they will do the same with them. Children obviously learn an enormous amount from their parents; they should have the chance to learn responsible drinking from them as well.

Edward Goldberg, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

## Journalism Giant

TIM RUSSERT, A PERFECTLY AUTHENTIC human being, ought to be your Person of the Year [June 30].

The Rev. Stanton D. Tate, MERIDIAN, IDAHO

## Young and Pregnant

KATHLEEN KINGSBURY'S OPINION—CLEARLY one of distaste for teen mothers—should have been left out of your article, especially her assertion that "perhaps [Gloucester High] has done too good a job of embracing unwed mothers" [June 30]. So if they marry, it's O.K.? Unwed teenage mothers need all the support they can get, and they should be integrated with peers so they can stay in school despite the huge responsibility of raising a child. Another reason to be integrated? So that peers who judge them, as Kingsbury seems to, will perhaps gain some empathy and embrace the concept of community.

Anna Moore, CHICO, CALIF.

**'To all of us who loved Tim Russert, let's honor him this election by doing what he would want us to do: make a difference and vote!'**

Joseph J. Carfi, BREWERTON, N.Y.

**Mourning a master** The death of Russert prompted tributes from many admirers



## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In our June 30 Inbox section, we incorrectly attributed a letter on illegal immigration to Matthew Bracken of Orange Park, Fla. The writer was Jonette Christian of Holden, Maine.

## Black Fathers

MICHAEL DYSON SEEMS TO POINT TO ECONOMIC reasons for black men's leaving their children [June 30]. Yet black mothers face the same hardships and do not abandon their children at the same rates. If poverty were the reason, why do we see fathers in Gaza, Honduras and sub-Saharan Africa, some of the poorest areas in the world, staying and supporting families? Barack Obama is right: this issue is a social one with some economic underpinnings, not the other way around. Black churches need to play a strong role in re-establishing the place of fathers in the African-American community, drawing upon a beautiful cultural heritage to forge strong generational bonds that will link fathers to sons.

Alyssa Rippey, TULSA, OKLA.

## Tibetan Buddhists, Divided

YOUR ARTICLE "TIBETAN IDOL" MAKES IT appear that Gyen Trinley Dorje is universally accepted as the 17th Karmapa and, as such, is recognized as the undisputed spiritual leader of the Karma Kagyu lineage, one of the four major lineages of Tibetan Buddhism [June 9]. The authenticity of the "prediction letter" you cite naming Gyen Trinley Dorje as Karmapa has been widely questioned. In fact, he is one of two spiritual leaders who now lay claim to the title. The other, Trinley Thaye Dorje, also recognized as the 17th Karmapa, visited the U.S. in 2003 and currently draws crowds of thousands when he speaks around the world.

Suzan Garner, President, Siddhartha Foundation, SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.



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**Strong Performance vs. Peers**  
Lipper Total Return Rankings<sup>1</sup>—5/31/08  
Percentage of funds in top two quartiles of  
Lipper Peer Group (Class A)

1-year: 77%

3-year: 94%

5-year: 100%

10-year: 100%

*You should carefully consider a fund's investment goals, risks, charges and expenses before investing. You'll find this and other information in the fund's prospectus, which you can obtain from your financial advisor. Please read the prospectus carefully before investing. Past performance does not guarantee future results.*

Bond prices generally move in the opposite direction of interest rates. As the prices of bonds in a fund adjust to a rise in interest rates, the fund's share price may decline.

<sup>1</sup>Source: Lipper, Inc. Figures do not include sales charges and are for Class A shares only. Of the eligible Franklin Templeton non-money market tax-free income funds tracked by Lipper, 18, 22, 31 and 27 funds ranked in the top quartile; 9, 11, 1 and 5 ranked in the second quartile; 6, 2, 0 and 0 ranked in the third quartile; and 2, 0, 0 and 0 ranked in the fourth quartile of their respective Lipper peer groups for the 1-, 3-, 5- and 10-year periods, respectively, for cumulative total return.

1. Diversification does not assure or guarantee better performance and cannot eliminate the risk of investment losses.

2. For investors subject to the alternative minimum tax, a small portion of fund dividends may be taxable. Distributions of capital gains are generally taxable.

3. Source: Strategic Insight, 3/31/08. Based on long-term municipal bond fund assets.

4. Source: Morningstar\*. As of 3/31/08. Based on the top 10 open-ended, non-proprietary sold fund families by municipal bond assets under management, excluding short-term funds.

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# Briefing

THE WORLD VERBATIM THE PAGE HISTORY

POP CHART MILESTONES

## THE MOMENT: GROUND ZERO



## Nation Building. Why the lack of progress at ground zero should worry America

REBUILDING GROUND ZERO was going to be a great show of American defiance, a Knute Rockne speech to the nation. Seven years on, though, this grand statement is barely a stammer. In an unsparing new progress report, the site's landlord admitted that every part of the project is over budget and behind schedule. It will take several months just to map out a new timeline.

The 16-acre site is a tangle of more than 100 contractors and subcontractors answering to 19 public agencies—

a sorry pageant of feuding bureaucrats, shady contractors, litigious developers and overzealous regulators. Even 9/11 advocacy groups share the blame, halting work over smallish details about how best to honor the victims. Few are honored by this impasse of competing agendas.

Nobody is arguing that the rebuilding effort—which will add as much Class A office space as exists in all of downtown Atlanta—is simple. But lower Manhattan is in danger of becoming a metaphor for

America's sluggish response to our most pressing economic challenges. A recent U.S. Chamber of Commerce report shows a litany of problems: an overloaded rail infrastructure that needs new tracks, signals, tunnels and bridges. Most

### Every part of the reconstruction is over budget and behind schedule

ports need dredging; almost half of all canal locks are obsolete. While China is spending nearly 9% of its GDP on infrastructure, Americans lose \$9 billion a year in productivity from flight delays alone.

It is, at heart, about com-

petitiveness. As the U.S.'s largest construction project limps along, China has built the equivalent of several World Trade Center sites in its furious run-up to the Olympics. While conscript labor and forced relocations aren't the American way, the U.S. can't be pleased about being lapped by a developing nation. The global economy rewards countries with the concentration and focus to build quickly and solidly. Bits and bytes are important, but so are steel and mortar. It's not too late for ground zero to be a showcase for American engineering, efficiency and ingenuity. Anything less risks sending exactly the wrong message.

—BY NATHAN THORNBURGH ■

# The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Anwar Ibrahim denies the accusations against him in an address to the media

## 1 | Malaysia

### A Scandal Revived

Malaysian opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim emerged from the Turkish ambassador's residence in Kuala Lumpur on June 30, a day after he sought sanctuary there following accusations that he sodomized a 23-year-old male aide. Anwar vehemently denied the allegations, which he denounced as political smear tactics fabricated by a coalition government in danger of losing power for the first time since Malaysia gained independence, in 1957. The charges, which have sidetracked Anwar's plans to re-enter Parliament, echo those preceding his 1998 imprisonment for sodomy. That conviction—overturned in 2004—came after his falling-out with then Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad over leadership of the ruling UMNO party. Sodomy is punishable in the Muslim-majority nation by up to 20 years behind bars.

## 2 | Texas

### Hero or Killer?

On June 30, a Houston-area grand jury declined to indict Joe Horn after he fatally shot two burglars in the back as they fled his neighbor's house, an episode captured in a chilling recording of a 911 call between Horn and a police dispatcher. The case tested Texas' so-called castle-dockline law—which states that people threatened in their home have a right to use deadly force—and triggered accusations of vigilantism and ethnic bias in the criminal-justice system. Horn, who expressed remorse over the killings, is white, while the victims were illegal Colombian immigrants.

## 3 | Istanbul

### Coup Plotters Arrested

In the latest skirmish between Turkey's secular establishment and its Muslim leadership, authorities arrested 21 people—including two retired generals and a newspaper editor—on July 1 for allegedly planning to overthrow the pro-Islamic government. The government accused them of belonging to an ultranationalist group that it says has been collecting weapons for a military coup.

## 4 | Bogotá

### Freedom for FARC Hostages

Former presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt was rescued in a Colombian military-intelligence operation July 2, ending her six years as a hostage of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. The most famous of FARC's estimated 750 captives, Betancourt, who holds French citizenship, was liberated along with 14 others, including three U.S. military contractors.



A gay-rights activist shows her colors—but not her face—at a march in Delhi

## 5 | India

### Pride Parades Find Footholds

In the nation's largest show of gay pride to date, hundreds marched for the first time ever in Bangalore and Delhi on June 29. Homosexuality has been illegal in India for more than 100 years, though few are prosecuted under the law.



## 6 | Jerusalem

### Coming Home

Israel and Hizbullah agreed to a prisoner-exchange deal in which Israel will release a long-held Lebanese terrorist, Samir Kuntar, for the bodies of two Israeli soldiers. Eldad Reggev and Ehud Goldwasser, whose capture in July 2006 triggered the month long war between Israel and Hizbullah that summer. Hizbullah captured the soldiers with the intention of using them as bargaining chips for Kuntar's release and is citing the deal as proof of the group's regional influence. Israel is still trying to negotiate with Hamas to win back Gilad Shalit, who is believed to be alive. Shalit is the third soldier at the center of a fierce national debate over the balance between security and Israel's commitment to retrieving those captured in the field.

Numbers:

16

Number of people inadvertently shot during a military demonstration in Paris after an officer loaded his gun with live rounds

11%

Percentage of girls in the U.K. who meet official guidelines for daily exercise, according to a childhood-obesity study



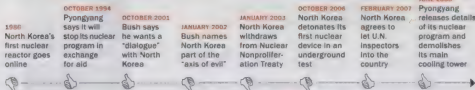
JUNE 2006  
Pyongyang releases details of its nuclear program and demolishes its main cooling tower

## 7 | North Korea

### Disarm-Twisting

On June 27, Pyongyang demolished the cooling tower at its Yongbyon nuclear reactor after the U.S. said it would remove North Korea from a list of terrorism-sponsoring countries if it continues dismantling its nuclear program.

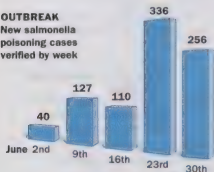
#### The U.S. and North Korea: A Rocky Nuclear Relationship



## 8 | California

**FIRE WITH FIRE** A firefighter uses a flare to light a firebreak as hundreds of blazes crackled across Northern California, scorching about 570 sq. mi. (1,475 sq km) of land and threatening the tourist enclave of Big Sur. With the weather expected to remain dry, officials said some of the wildfires could burn for months. Devastating fires last October caused more than \$1 billion in damage.

#### OUTBREAK New salmonella poisoning cases verified by week



## 9 | Maryland

### Attack of the Killer Tomatoes II

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration still hasn't found the source of the largest produce-linked salmonella outbreak in the nation's history, and officials now say it's possible that tomatoes aren't even the culprit. So far, 869 people across 36 states have become sick. According to the National Restaurant Association, reduced tomato consumption has cost the food industry at least \$100 million.

## 10 | Paris

### Making eBay Pay for Fakes

A French court ruled on June 30 that auction website eBay must pay nearly \$63 million to a group of luxury brands, including Louis Vuitton, Dior and Givenchy, after finding that the company wasn't doing enough to deter the sale of fake handbags, perfume and other knockoff goods. Weeks earlier, another French court ordered eBay to pay nearly \$32,000 to the luxury retailer Hermès. Meanwhile, in the U.S., eBay awaits a ruling in a similar case brought by jeweler Tiffany & Co.



### What They're

#### Wearing in Texas

A group of mothers from the Yeaming for Zion polygamist ranch are enjoying a new type of media attention—by selling their prairie-style clothing online. Available at fidsdress.com, the children's apparel, including overalls and "princess dresses," retails for \$20 to \$70. The group originally launched the site to provide proper outfits for the nearly 400 children taken during the April 3 raid on their compound.

**\$2.1** MILLION

Winning bid by a Chinese businessman for lunch with billionaire Warren Buffett—the largest charity-auction bid in eBay's history

**500**

Number of square miles of Montana land purchased by conservationists, creating a forest preserve almost a third the size of Rhode Island





For daily sound bites,  
visit [time.com/quotes](http://time.com/quotes)

# Verbatim

'I grew up in a family that didn't know what glass ceilings were.'

**ANN DUNWOODY**, U.S. Army lieutenant general, on her nomination to be the first female four-star general in the nation's history

'Look, I saw the film like everybody else did and I was—*horrified* is much too nice a word.'

**MICHAEL BLOOMBERG**, New York City mayor, on surveillance footage of a woman collapsing in the waiting room of a Brooklyn hospital; employees ignored her for more than an hour before realizing she was dead

'In other countries they look for the marijuana in the cigarette. Here they look for the cigarette in the marijuana.'

**JASON DEN ENTING**, manager of a coffee shop in the Netherlands, on a new public smoking ban that only prohibits tobacco

'Our Paralympic team is better than our Olympic team.'

**AHMED ABID HASSAN**, an Iraqi wheelchair-fencing coach, on the country's high number of disabled athletes; many are war veterans

'As soon as he writes the end of the story.'

**WILL SMITH**, saying he would like to portray Democratic presidential nominee Barack Obama in a movie someday

'They don't associate it with the guys we lost. That's a shame.'

**WILLIAM MILLER**, Vietnam veteran, on the term *swift boat*, now synonymous with campaign smear

'It's not enough to just have a Ferrari.'

**ABDULLAH AL-MANNAEI**, resident of Abu Dhabi, on Arab businessmen who spend millions on single-digit license plates



## Back & Forth A Presidential Résumé?

When retired General Wesley Clark disputed the relevance of John McCain's POW experience in the presidential race, he touched off a debate about what it takes to be Commander in Chief

JUNE 29

'I don't think riding in a fighter plane and getting shot down is a qualification to be President.'

**Wesley Clark**, on why John McCain's military service doesn't make him more qualified than Barack Obama

JUNE 30

'Let's please drop the pretense that Barack Obama stands for a new type of politics.'

**Brian Rogers**, spokesman for McCain, claiming Obama planned Clark's remark

JUNE 30

'Of course he rejects yesterday's statement by General Clark.'

**Bill Burton**, spokesman for Obama, distancing the campaign from the charge

JUNE 30

'I reject the idea that you take something like this and swift-boat it all out of proportion.'

**Clark**, on the media "hullabaloo," adding that he's made similar statements before

JUNE 30

'In some circles, that's just called straight talk.'

**Jon Soltz**, VoteVets.org chairman, praising Clark for his "blunt and honest" comments

JUNE 30

'Let's get the politics out of the military.'

**Jim Webb**, Virginia Senator, telling McCain's campaign to "calm down"

JULY 1

'I think it's up to Senator Obama now to not only repudiate him but cut him loose.'

**John McCain**, saying Obama should sever ties with Clark, though Clark doesn't hold an official role in the Democrat's campaign



*"Now if he can shrink the deficit too,  
he's got my vote."*

**T**here's no telling what effect an enlarging prostate will have on you. But for some men, symptoms can begin to interfere with everyday life.

- Are you always going to the bathroom?
- Do you get up to go two or more times a night?
- Are you starting and stopping?
- Do you have difficulty going once you get to the bathroom?

If you have these urinary symptoms, you might have an enlarging prostate.

Untreated, it's a problem that could get worse. That's why there's *Avodart*. Other medications don't treat the cause, because they don't shrink the prostate. Over time, *Avodart* can actually help bring the prostate down to size and improve urinary symptoms over the long term. Ask your health care provider if *Avodart* is right for you. It might just

mean a lot less time spent in the restroom.

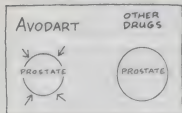
**Important Safety Information About Prescription AVODART® (dutasteride):**

*Avodart* is used to treat urinary symptoms of Enlarging Prostate. Only your health care provider can tell if your symptoms are from Enlarging Prostate and not a more serious condition, such as prostate cancer. See your health care provider for regular exams. Women and children should not take *Avodart*. Women who are or could become pregnant should not handle *Avodart* due to the potential risk of a specific birth defect. Do not donate blood until at least 6 months after stopping *Avodart*. Tell your health care

provider if you have liver disease.

*Avodart* may not be right for you. Possible side effects, including sexual side effects and swelling or tenderness of the breast, occur infrequently. For more information, call 1.800.448.8176. See important patient information on next page. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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**AVODART**  
(dutasteride)

Read the information you get with AVODART before you start taking it and each time you refill your prescription. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your health care provider.

#### What is AVODART?

AVODART is a medication for the treatment of symptoms of benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH) in men with an enlarged prostate to:

- Improve symptoms
- Reduce the risk of acute urinary retention (a complete blockage of urine flow)
- Reduce the risk of the need for BPH-related surgery

AVODART is not a treatment for prostate cancer.

#### Who should NOT take AVODART?

- Women and children should not take AVODART. A woman who is pregnant or capable of becoming pregnant should not handle AVODART capsules.
- If a woman who is pregnant with a male baby gets enough AVODART into her body after swallowing it or through her skin after handling it, the male baby may be born with abnormal sex organs.
- Do not take AVODART if you have had an allergic reaction to AVODART or any of its ingredients.

#### What are the special precautions about AVODART?

- Men treated with AVODART should not donate blood until at least 6 months after their final dose to prevent giving AVODART to a pregnant female through a blood transfusion.
- Tell your health care provider if you have liver problems. AVODART may not be right for you.
- A blood test called PSA (prostate-specific antigen) is sometimes used to detect prostate cancer. AVODART will reduce the amount of PSA measured in your blood. Your health care provider is aware of this effect and can still use PSA to detect prostate cancer in you.

#### What are the possible side effects of AVODART?

Possible side effects are impotence (trouble getting or keeping an erection), a decrease in libido (sex drive), enlarged breasts, a decrease in the amount of semen released during sex, and allergic reactions such as rash, itching, hives, and swelling of the lips or face. These events occurred infrequently.

Talk with your health care provider if you have questions about these and other side effects that you think may be related to taking AVODART.

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# The Page

BY MARK HALPERIN

## CAMPAIGN SCORECARD

ROUND	1	2	3	4
ISSUE	<b>Party Unity</b>	<b>Patriotism and Leadership</b>	<b>Grass-Roots Support</b>	<b>Foreign Policy</b>
ACTION	Barack Obama holds a so-happy-together event with Hillary Clinton and snags a \$4,600 contribution from the former First Couple. The left stays (mostly) mum as Obama jogs to the center on key social and security issues. John McCain has a warm photo op with Billy and Franklin Graham, but he still lags behind with Bush donors.	 Obama leads up to Independence Day vouching for his love of country while the media perpetuate a debate about patriotism and the candidates. Obama backer (and former NATO commander) Wesley Clark bumbles into the dustup by questioning whether McCain's years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam give him Commander in Chief credentials.	It's a big trans-continental nation, but Obama's campaign intends to use volunteers to help turn out voters on Election Day as if he were running for mayor. It takes money and planning to harness all the energy Democrats are displaying these days, and Obama has both. Discouraging for Republicans: the absence of a massive, aggressive organization to mobilize their forces, as George W. Bush had in 2000 and 2004.	 Both candidates decided to take unusual international trips: <b>McCain</b> to Latin America, and Obama to Europe, Jordan, Iraq and Afghanistan. Bush's unpopular foreign policy record won't help McCain, but focusing the nation's attention overseas on trade, war and peace, and leadership credentials—and away from the U.S. economy and health care—can only aid the Republicans.

## RESULTS

REPUBLICANS		✓		✓
DEMOCRATS	✓		✓	
TIE				

## WINNER OF THE WEEK: TIE

Obama cautiously sits on his lead while McCain rejiggers his staff for a fresh start. Meanwhile, Democratic errors lure the GOP into debating character questions when McCain wants to focus on policy. Week ends in a muddle.



★★★ NOT ALL ROUNDS ARE CREATED EQUAL ★★★

The week's winner is based on the relative importance of each fight and by how much the winner takes each round.

## WEEK BY WEEK

	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	TOTAL WEEKS WON
REPUBLICANS						1
DEMOCRATS						3

## Sincere Flattery. Barack Obama borrows from Bill Clinton's playbook

THE RECENT PHONE CALL between the two men the New York Post calls Bam and Bubba was by all accounts truly cordial. The former President and the current candidate chatted for 20 minutes on June 30 and agreed to share a meal and make a joint public appearance soon. Friends say Bill Clinton is still taking his wife's loss to Obama hard—and personally—but he appreciated the Senator's gracious tone. Clinton has begun to emerge from his combative crouch, but with a travel-packed schedule and the Clinton Global Initiative Annual Meeting looming in September, he may best serve



the campaign by example. Obama has already copied some smart tactical moves from Clinton's 1992 bid. After securing the nomination, he made symbolic statements to defuse cultural and defense issues that have been Democratic liabilities in the past—just as Clinton did. On welfare reform, capital punishment, faith and national security, Obama has taken positions intended to match his Republican opponent's or even outflank him on the right. One decision the Obama camp has yet to address, however: How big a speaking role should Clinton have at the convention?

# A Brief History Of:

## The Tour de France



**T**HE TOUR DE FRANCE, WHICH KICKS OFF JULY 5, IS A grueling test of human endurance, a three-week, 2,175-mile (3,500 km) race stretched over 21 stages, nine of them in the mountains. But in some ways the modern Tour is easier than races past. In the early 20th century, competitors pedaled the dirt roads of France through the night on fixed-gear bikes, evading human blockades, route-jamming cars and nails placed on the road by fans of other riders. Between stages, teams feasted on banquets and champagne; before climbs, they fortified with cigarettes.

The race was the brainchild of Henri Desgrange, a Parisian magazine editor who launched it in 1903 with 60 riders in a bid to boost circulation. It worked: Tour coverage helped Desgrange's magazine boom, and the race soon became more popular than he could have dreamed. With fans lining the roads to see riders up close, by the 1920s the Tour included more than 100 cyclists from throughout Europe. But as the competition grew fiercer and the race more commercialized, champagne and nicotine gave way to more effective—and insidious—performance boosters. In 1967, British rider Tom Simpson died midrace after taking amphetamines, prompting the event to adopt drug-testing. In 1998 authorities disqualified the Festina team after finding the red blood cell-boosting drug EPO in their car. The winner of the 1996 race, Bjarne Riis, admitted in 2007 that he had used EPO, just months before Floyd Landis became the first Tour winner stripped of his title on charges of using synthetic testosterone in 2006. The Tour now tests athletes rigorously—stage winners are screened daily—although the victor in this year's race will still be allowed a sip of champagne. —BY KATE PICKERT

### A different kind of doping

Prior to big climbs, riders in the 1920s shared cigarettes—thought to help respiration

### PEDAL METTLE

**1903** Maurice Garin wins first Tour de France, covering 1,509 miles (2,428 km) in six stages

**1919** Yellow Jersey debuts



**1937** Derailleur systems allow riders to switch gears automatically

**1957-64** Jacques Anquetil becomes first rider to win five times

**1967** British rider dies after taking amphetamines, prompting first drug tests



**2005** Lance Armstrong sets record with seventh win

**2007** Charged with doping, Floyd Landis becomes first winner stripped of his title



### THE SKIMMER



### The Prosecution of George W. Bush for Murder

By Vincent Bugliosi; 344 pages

IT'S DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE a more inflammatory book title that wouldn't result in a visit from the Secret Service. Bugliosi, a star prosecutor and author of the Manson family true-crime best-seller *Helter Skelter*, aims to inflame. He wants the American public to finally get furious over the Bush Administration's handling of the Iraq war. He certainly is, and boy does it show: his pages are chock-full of insults (Bush is "devoid of any character"), exclamations ("It's enough to make the cat cry") and italics—just so you get it! Bugliosi is well aware of his largest hurdle: convincing readers that a President can be tried for murder in a U.S. court. He methodically lays out his case—Bush deliberately lied in bringing the nation to war and is thus responsible for the deaths of more than 4,000 American soldiers—with piles of evidence from public sources, as well as legal theory and precedent. The resulting work makes a fascinating law-school exercise but suffers from a thundering repetitiveness that exhausts as much as it informs.

—BY GILBERT CRUZ

READ

SKIM

TOSS ✓



# Pop Chart



**THE FLY: THE OPERA**  
Including the hit aria  
*He'll fly me away!*



**VICTORIA BECKHAM**  
cops to once dating  
Corey Haim



**ANNA WINTOUR**  
celebrates 20 years at  
*Vogue*. Thaaaat's all



**DEVO** sues McDonald's  
over Happy Meal—toy  
likeness. McWhip it!



**JOSH HARTNETT** to  
definitely, definitely  
star in stage version  
of *Rain Man*



**RED SONJA** to return  
to the big screen



*Family Guy* creator  
**SETH MACFARLANE**  
signs deal with Google  
for two-minute animated  
shorts. Giggily!



**AMY WINEHOUSE**  
punches fan at  
Glastonbury festival.  
Ladies and gentlemen,  
she's back



**LINDSAY LOHAN** may  
have a secret half  
sister. Officials await  
blood-alcohol-test  
results to confirm



**DICK GRASSO** gets  
to keep \$187.5 million  
compensation



Mini-Mc, **VERNE  
TROYER**, sues TMZ for  
airing portions of his  
sex tape. Seeking one...  
million... dollars



Patience of Gob  
rewarded. **ARRESTED  
DEVELOPMENT** movie  
in the works



**BORAT** and Anachorman  
to star as Holmes  
and Watson

## PREDICTABLE



**MTV** to start airing  
political ads for the  
first time



**MADONNA** and A-Rod  
deny affair. She  
apparently mistook him  
for a basketball player



Litigious **PRINCE** sues  
Norwegian makers of  
a Prince tribute album.  
Next plans to sue  
Prince tennis racquets,  
the Little Prince, the  
color purple

## SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

# Milestones

## Sam Manekshaw

IT TOOK SAM HORMUSHI Framji Jamshedji Manekshaw only 14 days to secure his place in Indian history. The career officer, who died June 27 at 94, had a mystique as thick as his silvered mustache, after fighting heroically against the Japanese in World War II. But his defining moment came with the Indian army's decisive victory in the two-week 1971 war against Pakistan. For a country that had been mired in seemingly endless battles on its borders for most of its history, his triumph became one of India's crowning military achievements.

Manekshaw's winning strategy began with patience. As army Chief of Staff, he advised Prime Minister



Indian soldiers with a captured Pakistani tank

Indira Gandhi to wait rather than intervene after a declaration of martial law in East Pakistan threatened to destabilize the region. He organized a coordinated army, air force and navy offensive that began on Dec. 3, 1971, and repeatedly went on the radio to warn the West Pakistani troops that

they were surrounded. Overwhelmed, their commander surrendered within two weeks. The subsequent Simla Accords eventually led to the creation of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Shortly before he retired in January 1973, Manekshaw became field marshal of the Indian army, one of only two people ever to hold that title.

His strategy had its critics, who said faster action could have headed off a major refugee crisis. But his reputation as a soldier's general survived. He personified the old-fashioned, scotch-in-the-officers'-club army culture that India inherited from the British. Manekshaw will be remembered, according to retired Lieut. Colonel Anil Bhat, as "a person who made India stand tall." —BY JYOTI THOTTAM

**DIED** From the moment she was born on a former revolutionary base, Shao Hua's future was enmeshed with that of the Chinese Communist Party. In 1960 she became the daughter-in-law of Chairman Mao Zedong, marrying his second son, Mao Anqing. During the 1950s, Zedong's older brother, Mao Anying, obtained for her a Soviet camera, which she used to document schools, factories and villages. She was later promoted to major general in the People's Liberation Army and became the president of the China Photographers Association in 2002. She was 69.



■ Lead singer for the popular gospel group the Dixie Hummingbirds for nearly seven decades, Ira Tucker captivated fans with his impassioned performances. And while Tucker could have easily transitioned to more mainstream secular music, he and his group remained devoted to gospel. In 1973 they collaborated with Paul Simon on the memorable *Loves Me Like a Rock*, and just last year their album *Still Keeping It Real: The Last Man Standing* was nominated for a Grammy. He was 83.

■ An aeronautics professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the 1950s, Dr. Robert Seamans joined the newly formed National Aeronautics and Space Administration in 1960 and played a pivotal role in the race to put a man on the moon. NASA's deputy administrator from 1965 to 1968, Seamans showed an ability to overcome technical and logistical hurdles and helped set in motion the mission that put Neil Armstrong on the lunar face in 1969. Seamans returned to MIT to head the School of Engineering, but a NASA spokesman said, "He will be remembered as one of the great pioneers and leaders of America's space program." He was 89.



## Clay Felker

I MET NEW YORK MAGAZINE editor Clay Felker, who died June 30 at age 82, when I was a daily reporter at the New York *Herald Tribune* in 1963. The *Trib* decided to create a serious—or at least good—Sunday supplement and ap-

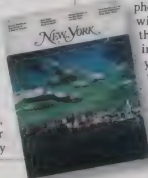
proached Clay to work on the magazine, which became *New York*. What I really remember was Clay talking about making this Sunday supplement the best magazine in America. We naturally thought he was whistling in the rain. But it was not very long before the *New Yorker* was very worried.

He introduced the subject of status as news. Nobody had ever thought of that before. Clay was interested in it just by instinct. He was always pointing out what people and what places were exciting. There were eventually a huge number of city magazines, all patterned after *New York*. But they

didn't get it—that it was really about status. All these other magazines have is party pictures and glossy ads.

Clay was so generous to his writers. If you did good work for him, he couldn't do enough for you. He gave me so much space, and he let me try anything. He was an incredible leader in that somehow he would suffuse everybody—the writers, the illustrators, the designers, the photographers—with the idea that this is the most important thing you'll ever do and this is the time to do it. That's what animated people. It's very rare in this world.

—BY TOM WOLFE





James

# Poniewozik

## Planet Hollywood. A new cable channel uses stars to make environmentalism glamorous. Earth to celebs: It's not working

AMERICA IN THE BRANGELINA ERA DOES not lack celebrity advocates: Scarlett Johansson for Barack Obama, George Clooney for Darfur, Matt Damon for clean water. Whether the famous are effective advocates for good is debatable, but Madison Avenue long ago proved they are great advocates for buying stuff. Ironically, considering the tonnage of celeb-inspired purchases choking our landfills, this also makes them ideal pitchmen for the environment. After all, green issues are about consumption: what to eat, how to build your house, what junk to fill it with and how to dispose of it all.

So when Discovery Networks launched environmental cable channel Planet Green last month, it hired lots of celebs, from former *St. Elsewhere* star Ed Begley Jr. to *Entourage*'s Adrian Grenier to Leonardo DiCaprio. Later this month, star chef Emeril Lagasse debuts an organic cooking show. *Battleground Earth* will pair rocker Tommy Lee and rapper Ludacris on an eco-buddy road trip.

The timing is right, as movies from M. Night Shyamalan's *The Happening* to Pixar's *Wall-E* rap viewers' wasteful ways while selling huge tubs of popcorn. But Planet Green's ecotainment is also a study in what kind of Hollywood activism works and what's just noise pollution.

**One of Planet Green's most promoted—**and most rapid—shows is Grenier's *Alter Eco*, in which the HBO star and several fashion-plate friends bring eco-consciousness to the deprived world of upscale Los Angeles. They visit organic

restaurants and sip biodynamic cabernet sauvignons. They build a home compost bin for a chef from Spago and work on a "green" mansion large enough to dry dock an aircraft carrier. And they cap off each episode by sitting down to cocktails or dinner and telling one another how awesome they are. ("Why are you such a mensch?" Grenier asks a pal.) In *Alter Eco*, environmentalism exists not to save the world but



to ennoble people who are richer, thinner and cooler than you will ever be.

It's fitting that the smug *Alter Eco*'s title is a twist on the word *ego*, because the show is a perfect marriage of sanctimony and self-regard. It's ecotistical. It's compostentatious. Grenier and company mean it to be aspirational—it's cool to be green—but the effect is exactly the opposite. Hey, I compost and recycle too, I think as I watch. Do I look like that big a tool?

A more old-fashioned strain of high-minded celebrity daffiness shines through on *Hollywood Green*, which is basically *Access Hollywood* edited down to the stars' red-carpet prattling about their hemp wardrobes and chemical-free nurseries. (I have waited in vain for a segment on organic Botox and biodegradable implants.) Justin Timberlake builds an

eco-friendly golf course. Host Maria Menounos enlists an "eco-designer" to redo her summer cabana. "Green is beautiful!" she declares. Sure it is, if you have a freaking cabana and a personal decorator.

Each of these shows believes that environmentalism will sell only if it's made glamorous. But Planet Green's better celeb shows take just the opposite approach. In *Living with Ed*, Begley offers tips from his home, no pimped-out eco-pad but a modest Studio City bungalow where he fusses with a solar oven and plugs in his electric car. Self-deprecating and charmingly nerdy, Begley is no dilettante, having immersed himself in low-impact living long before anyone was devoting cable channels to it. Yes, the show's concept is hokey—Begley's *Green Acres* bickering with his less eco-minded wife—and it relies too heavily on star cameos. But at least Begley presents his choices as being about something bigger than generating his own solar-powered halo.

**The best show on Planet Green,**

however, succeeds in part because it has so little of its celebrity in it. *Greensburg*, produced by DiCaprio, is a documentary series about a Kansas town that decides to rebuild to green specifications after being nearly obliterated by a tornado.

DiCaprio introduces the first episode, then steps out of the way as the show tells the story of the culture clashes, setbacks and moments of redemption that happen when a town decides to give back after losing everything.

If the Hollywood name draws viewers in, *Greensburg* quickly deposits them in the real world of commerce and compromise—where, after all, any meaningful change will have to take place. If you want to see that world on Planet Green, look not at the glamorous celeb shows but at the commercials—including ads for chemical bathroom cleansers and processed, nonorganic snacks. Which points out something that the channel's upscale shows could stand to remember. It's one thing to live on Planet Green when you're a star. The rest of us have to get by on Planet Earth. ■

**Planet Green's ecotainment is a study in what kind of Hollywood activism works and what is just noise pollution**

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# Joe Klein

## Giving Back to Veterans. Thousands of troops are coming home with mental-health injuries. It's the duty of all of us to help them

IN THE SPRING OF 2007, FRED WILPON, the owner of the New York Mets, accompanied his team on a visit to the wounded troops at Walter Reed Army Hospital. Wilpon was haunted by the experience, especially by a lieutenant who had just arrived at the hospital after being severely wounded in Iraq a week earlier. The doctors said the lieutenant would have bled to death in previous wars, but the efficacy of the battlefield medical care in Iraq and Afghanistan was remarkable. "I'd say it was a miracle that kid was still alive," Wilpon says, but then he realized he was in a hospital full of miracles. As he thought about this afterward, Wilpon figured—as others involved in the care of veterans have—that there was going to be an unprecedented need for psychological counseling for the survivors of horrific wounds. "The other thing that struck me was how removed most Americans are from the troops," Wilpon says. "Most people don't think much about the war. When I was a kid during World War II, we were always being asked to do something for the troops. I wanted to reconnect the public with the military."

Wilpon went to work, talking to military leaders about what the returning troops needed most—and to his fellow baseball owners about organizing a massive program to help out. The result, unveiled this July Fourth weekend, is an ambitious effort to raise \$100 million to provide free psychological counseling for returning veterans and jobs for those who need them. The scope of the

**'Over there, it always felt like we're stuck in hell and the country is stuck at the mall,' a colonel who had just returned from combat told me. It's time to rectify that**

problem is enormous: upwards of 20% of combat veterans are coming home from Iraq and Afghanistan with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As recently reported in *TIME*, the military is prescribing antidepressants to troops downrange to help blunt the psychological effects of combat. "There's just a tremendous need for counseling," says Paul Rieckhoff of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America. "The [Department of Veterans Affairs'] psychological-counseling program is overwhelmed.



The suicide rates for returning vets are just off the charts. If Major League Baseball can get this program up to scale, we could save thousands of lives."

Psychological counseling is a sensitive subject in the macho world of the military. "There's tremendous stigma attached," says retired general David Grange, president of the McCormick Foundation, which will administer the program for Major League Baseball. "In my day, you'd never ask for psychological help because you'd be disqualified for command." To eliminate the stigma, a few regular Army units have started to make psychological counseling mandatory for soldiers returning from combat. "We decided to do it after those murders at Fort Bragg," said retired general B.B. Bell, who initiated mandatory counseling when he commanded the U.S. Army

in Europe. (Bell was referring to the three returning soldiers who murdered their wives in 2002.) There is a similar program at Fort Lewis, Wash. According to Dr. Charles Hoge in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, such programs can significantly reduce the number of soldiers reluctant to go for counseling.

**But those are isolated programs. And** the need is even greater in the National Guard and Reserves. Because of the all-volunteer Army, "we've never had so many Guard and Reserves involved in combat," Grange says. These troops tend to be less well trained and yanked out of settled civilian lives and therefore more susceptible to psychological stress. "They also come home totally removed from the base of support that regular troops have. They're all alone," he says. Indeed, a disproportionate number of Guard and Reserve service members have civilian jobs as first responders—police, firefighters, emergency workers—and they can be removed from their posts, sent to desk jobs or medical leave, if they seek psychological counseling for PTSD. "A lot of these people come home and find that their jobs are no longer there," says Grange, explaining why Major League Baseball included a jobs component in its program. "Ideally, if this thing works,

we'll be able to link up a returning veteran with a job and counseling—and prospective employers can be reassured that the veteran isn't going to go postal on them."

With Veterans Affairs overwhelmed by two wars, it may be a good thing, spiritually, for the rest of us to help those who have sacrificed so much in Iraq and Afghanistan. A few years ago, a colonel who had just returned from combat told me, "Over there, it always felt like we're stuck in hell and the country is at the mall." Part of the responsibility for the disconnect lies with President George W. Bush, who never asked us to sacrifice for the war effort. It's time to rectify that. "I'd like to see every kid in America give part of their allowance to help the troops," Wilpon says. As an elderly kid, "I'm giving part of mine. If you want to help, please visit [welcomebackveterans.org](http://welcomebackveterans.org).



WORLD

# Somewhere Out There

As the quest for Osama bin Laden founders, one of the few Western journalists to have met him argues that al-Qaeda's leader may be poised to strike again

BY PETER BERGEN



leader is no longer an active threat to the West. They point out that he has not been able to strike on U.S. soil since 9/11 or in Europe since the London bombings three summers ago. In Iraq, his most successful

DOES OSAMA BIN LADEN matter anymore? You could be forgiven for thinking he doesn't. In recent months, an impressive cast of terrorism experts and counterterrorism officials around the world has coalesced around the notion that al-Qaeda's

franchise operation is on the ropes. Across the Muslim world, opinion polls suggest his popularity has faded, and many of his early supporters—including prominent jihadi ideologues—have denounced him. Even his messages on the Internet scarcely merit headlines in the mainstream media. Did you know he posted two audio messages on the Web in May? I didn't think so.

The jihad, some experts contend, has moved beyond bin Laden and al-Qaeda. Dr. Marc Sageman, a former CIA case officer, lays out the view in his new book, *Leaderless Jihad*, arguing that "the present threat has evolved from a structured group of al-Qaeda masterminds controlling vast resources and issuing commands to a mul-



**Al-Qaeda country** U.S. soldiers patrol Afghanistan's Korengal Valley, near the border with Pakistan and close to one of the busiest crossing points for foreign militants seeking to sign up for bin Laden's jihad

titude of informal groups trying to emulate their predecessors by conceiving and executing operations from the bottom up. These 'homegrown' wannabes form a scattered global network, a leaderless jihad." According to this assessment, two decades since its founding in Peshawar, Pakistan, al-Qaeda remains a source of inspiration for certain extremists around the world. But it's far from clear that bin Laden commands them.

This view was shared by several European officials I met at a conference of terrorism experts in Florence in May, a few days after bin Laden's most recent Internet postings. The officials told me they've found no evidence of al-Qaeda operations

in their countries. If bin Laden has any role in the jihad, say the Europeans, it is merely as an icon. Alain Grignard, Belgium's top terrorism investigator, says bin Laden is now a "Robin Hood figure; 100 people are inspired by him, but very few respond to do what he wants."

If that's true, why do so many political leaders continue to warn about the threat—or even the likelihood—of another major terrorist attack? Why did the U.S. National Intelligence Estimate say al-Qaeda "has protected or regenerated key elements of homeland attack capability"? Why would the head of Britain's domestic intelligence service, MI5, say there were 2,000 citizens and other U.K.

residents who posed a serious threat to security, a number of whom took direction from al-Qaeda? The struggle against al-Qaeda—and to a lesser extent, the quest to capture bin Laden—has dominated U.S. foreign policy since 9/11. But as the U.S. prepares to elect a new President, should that remain the case?

The answers to these questions don't lend themselves to easy policy prescriptions. But the best available evidence suggests that the threat posed by bin Laden's acolytes hasn't been extinguished—and his own influence over them is greater than many analysts acknowledge. In his old stomping grounds, the jihad is stronger than at any time since he fled from

the Tora Bora mountains in the winter of 2001. The Taliban is resurgent in Afghanistan, and in Pakistan militant groups have grown so aggressive that in late June they even threatened to take over a major city—Peshawar, once bin Laden's home and the birthplace of al-Qaeda. Farther away, extremists in Europe and North Africa continue to covet bin Laden's blessing and the al-Qaeda brand name.

As has always been true in shadowy, borderless wars, measuring the strength of the enemy isn't an exact science. It's true that many of the "leaderless jihadis" have set up operations independently of al-Qaeda, but when they turn to bin Laden's organization, it's not just for inspiration but also for training, assistance and direction—in short, for leadership. Many are able and willing to do bin Laden's bidding; they pay very careful attention to his Internet postings and follow his instructions. And although their targets have generally been close to home, their association with al-Qaeda has tended to take their ambitions beyond their borders. What's more, many of these homegrown wannabes live in the West.

It was al-Qaeda's direct involvement that helped a leaderless group of British jihadis mount the multiple London bombings on July 7, 2005, that killed 52 commuters. Two of the bombers had traveled to Pakistan, met with al-Qaeda commanders and made martyrdom tapes with al-Qaeda's video-production arm there. A year later, British investigators uncovered a plot by another cell of British Pakistanis to bring down seven American and Canadian passenger jets. According to Lieut. General Michael Maples, head of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, the plotters received direction from al-Qaeda in Pakistan. Bin Laden's interest in British jihadis didn't end there. Jonathan Evans, head of MI5, said last year that "over the past five years, much of the command, control and inspiration for attack planning in the U.K. has derived from al-Qaeda's remaining core leadership in the tribal areas of Pakistan."

U.S. officials, too, worry that a new generation of jihadis is making the trek to Pakistan, seeking al-Qaeda's assistance. Sixteen U.S. intelligence agencies signed off on a 2007 National Intelligence Estimate that concluded that al-Qaeda has made a strong comeback in Afghanistan and Pakistan because it has found "a safe haven in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas [FATA] in Pakistan" for its operational lieutenants and top leadership. In February, Michael McConnell, director of National Intelligence, said in congress-



**Terrorism's global brand** Although his standing among Muslims has fallen, bin Laden still shows up in popular iconography, as in this image on the back of a truck in Indonesia

sional testimony that there had been an "influx of new Western recruits into the tribal areas since mid-2006."

Philip Mudd, the former No. 2 in the CIA's Counterterrorism Center, who is now working at the FBI to help improve its intelligence capabilities, told me, "There is a very clear, almost mathematical increase in lethality as soon as plotters touch the FATA."

If jihadis seek material assistance from al-Qaeda in the FATA, they can get guidance from bin Laden almost anywhere there's an Internet connection. He has issued more than two dozen video- and audiotaped messages since 9/11, and some of his exhortations have been acted upon. For instance, in December 2004, bin Laden called for attacks on Saudi oil facilities; in February 2006, al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia attacked the Abqaiq facility, perhaps the most important oil-production facility in the world. (Luckily, that attack was a failure.) More recently, bin Laden has called for attacks on the Pakistani state—there were more than 50 suicide

bombings there in 2007, and there have been at least 19 thus far this year.

There's some comfort to be drawn from the fact that bin Laden has not been able to strike on U.S. soil since 9/11. There is scant evidence of al-Qaeda sleeper cells in the U.S. Thanks to more effective intelligence-gathering, immigration control and the heightened vigilance of ordinary Americans, it is very hard for terrorists to slip into the country. It's always possible that homegrown wannabes will mount some sort of attack, but in contrast to the situation in Europe, al-Qaeda's virulent ideology has found few takers in the American Muslim community.

Yet bin Laden remains determined to kill large numbers of Westerners and disrupt the global economy. Since 9/11, al-Qaeda and its affiliates have bombed Western-owned hotels around the Muslim world, attacked a number of Jewish targets and conducted suicide operations against oil facilities in the Middle East; we can expect more of the same in the future. Al-Qaeda has also used new tactics and weapons—like the surface-to-air missile that nearly brought down an Israeli airliner in Kenya in 2002. And it retains a long-standing desire to acquire a radiological bomb. But al-Qaeda's most dangerous weapon has always been unpredictability. That's why it is dangerous to dismiss bin Laden as a spent force. While he remains at large, the jihad will never be leaderless. ■

**Jihadis turn to bin Laden's organization not just for inspiration but also for training, assistance and direction—in short, for leadership**

*Bergen is a fellow at the New America Foundation in Washington and the author of The Osama bin Laden I Know*

# White House Memo. The Pentagon wants to step up the hunt, but Pakistan's new leaders are balking. Inside Bush's last battle

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON



**Decision time** Bush must determine whether to approve broader authority to go after al-Qaeda commanders who may know the whereabouts of bin Laden and his deputy, al-Zawahiri

**\$7.2** BILLION

U.S. military aid to Pakistan since 9/11

**\$50** MILLION

Reward offered by the State Department for the capture or killing of bin Laden

**29**

Number of audio and video messages from bin Laden since 9/11

EVERY THURSDAY MORNING, PRESIDENT George W. Bush gets an intelligence briefing from CIA chief General Michael Hayden. Invariably, according to National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley, the President asks, "How are we doing on No. 1 and No. 2?"—meaning Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. The answer, more often than not, amounts to "Same as last week, Mr. President." Despite a seven-year manhunt along the lawless frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan, al-Qaeda's leader and his deputy remain at large, thanks to their superior knowledge of the terrain and the protection of local tribes. Now bin Laden and al-Zawahiri have an added advantage: the precarious state of Pakistani politics.

Counterterrorism officials say the best hope for nabbing No. 1 and No. 2 may lie in the capture of second-tier al-Qaeda com-

manders who know where their bosses are hiding. A recent CIA report speculates that bin Laden has long-term kidney disease and may have only months to live, two U.S. officials familiar with the report told TIME. (A CIA spokesman denied the report exists.) The Pentagon has requested that Bush sign an "execute order" expanding its authority to go after these commanders in Pakistani territory; senior counterterrorism and Defense Department officials tell TIME that broader authority for cross-border strikes from Afghanistan is awaiting consideration by the President and his top advisers. But some in the Administration are reluctant to cross that line for fear of destabilizing Pakistan's recently elected government.

The Administration limited cross-border operations when General Pervez

Musharraf was in charge in Islamabad, on the grounds that they might undermine the authority of a key ally in the war on terrorism. Musharraf's troops were meant to track down al-Qaeda commanders on the Pakistani side of the border, a task they performed fitfully. When a coalition of democratic parties came to power after elections in February, the Administration braced itself for even less help hunting terrorists. Sure enough, the new government scaled back antiterrorism operations and promised to find a political solution to the growing pro-al-Qaeda militancy in the border regions. Having pressured Musharraf to hold the elections and share power, the Administration had little option but to play along. But dithering among the country's new leaders and the Pakistani military has allowed jihadi groups to expand their operations, making al-Qaeda's leadership harder to reach than it has been in years.

In theory, though, bin Laden should not feel safe. U.S. special-ops teams have a standing order to capture or kill him and al-Zawahiri whenever the opportunity arises—even if that means crossing the border. But going after second-tier commanders requires lengthier approvals that are not always granted. "Are you willing to go after them, boots on the ground or high collateral damage, and potentially be politically counterproductive?" asks a senior U.S. counterterrorism official. "That's the political struggle the U.S. government has right now."

It's a difficult decision. As yet, says the counterterrorism official, there is no conclusive intelligence on the whereabouts of the second-tier commanders. If Bush signs the execute order, he will be increasing the risk that faulty intelligence could produce tragic mistakes—and public relations disasters—like the U.S. air strike on June 10 that killed 11 Pakistani paramilitary soldiers near the Afghan border, causing explosive outrage nationwide.

The Pakistanis privately say they will tolerate a U.S. incursion if it is directed specifically against bin Laden or al-Zawahiri—but nobody else. A senior Pakistani official tells TIME that this will be the message Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani delivers to President Bush when they meet in Washington at the end of July. "If they do a raid and they find No. 3 or No. 4 or No. 5 but don't get bin Laden, it's going to be a real problem," says the official. Risking Pakistan instability, however, may be the only way for the President to get a different answer to his routine Thursday-morning question. —WITH

REPORTING BY ARYN BAKER/ISLAMABAD AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON ■



# Saving Zimbabwe

Military force isn't the answer. But aggressive diplomacy can still remove Robert Mugabe

**O**N JUNE 27, ROBERT MUGABE STOLE an election. He did so in plain view of journalists, aid workers, diplomats and heads of state. His brutality before the vote resulted in the deaths of about 100 Zimbabweans, the detention of some 2,000, injury to 10,000 and the displacement of more than 200,000. His regime systematically burned down homes and tortured people who had the nerve to suggest they might choose a new President of Zimbabwe. Under Mugabe, life expectancy has dropped to 36 years.

**The ruthlessness and savagery of Mugabe** have given rise to two basic reactions in Africa and around the world: fruitless hand-wringing by committed multilateralists who want to solve the problem through "constructive engagement," and consequence-blind militarism by zealous moralists who call for regime change by force. Neither approach offers realistic hope for the people of Zimbabwe. Ending the Mugabe nightmare is still possible, but it will require a more radical diplomatic strategy than the world has tried so far.

The positions of both the multilateralists and the moralists start from flawed assumptions. The multilateralist camp claims to be disappointed that South African President Thabo Mbeki has failed to mediate a resolution to the crisis. But Mbeki is not a mediator; he is an ally to a dictator. And yet Western countries—aware that their criticisms of human rights abuses in the developing world have a neoimperialist ring to them—don't call out Mbeki on his part-

nership. Instead, they confine their ritual condemnations to Mugabe, who cares more about staying in power than anybody else cares about removing him.

The moralists, for their part, have begun demanding the military overthrow of Mugabe. Many of them are neoconservatives motivated largely by the desire to ridicule multilateralism and resuscitate the so-called Bush Doctrine. Such voices conveniently forget that the Bush Doc-



trine has never actually been tried in practice. The war in Iraq was fought over alleged weapons of mass destruction, a contrived link to 9/11, oil, a father's unfinished legacy—but not as a humanitarian intervention.

The bigger problem with those who call for forcible regime change in Zimbabwe is not their faulty history; it is their utter indifference to consequences. Even if one could find a country prepared to invade Zimbabwe, such a war would probably cause Mugabe's bloodstained security forces (estimated to number 100,000) to butcher unarmed opposition politicians and their defenseless supporters and cause several million to flee to neighboring countries. It would also exacerbate the suspicions between countries in the north and those in the south, making it even more likely that developing coun-

tries (which account for the majority of U.N. member states) will dig in their heels in support of human rights abusers in Zimbabwe and beyond.

## So what can be done? To start, U.N.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon should appoint his predecessor, Kofi Annan, fresh from brokering a power-sharing deal for Kenya, as the U.N.'s envoy to Zimbabwe. One by one, those African and Western leaders who claim to be disgusted with Mugabe should announce that they bilaterally recognize the validity of the March 29 first-round election results, which showed the opposition winning 48% to 43%, though the margin was almost surely larger. The countries which do would make up the new "March 29 bloc" within the U.N. and would declare Morgan Tsvangirai the new President of Zimbabwe. They would then announce that Mugabe and the 130 leading cronies who have already been sanctioned by the West will not be permitted entry to their airports.

Tsvangirai and his senior aides should do as South Africa's African National Congress did throughout the 1960s and '70s: set up a government-in-exile and appoint ambassadors abroad—including to the U.N. That ambassador should be given forums for rebutting the ludicrous claims of the Zimbabwean and South African regimes.

If "the U.N." is disaggregated into its component parts, Mugabe's friends will be exposed. "June 27" countries will be those who favor electoral theft, while "March 29" countries will be those who believe that the Zimbabweans aren't the only ones who should stand up and be counted. This can be a recipe for gridlock in international institutions—but the gridlock won't get broken by lamenting its existence. It will get broken when the heads of state who back Mugabe are forced out into the open and when constructive engagement of the new President of Zimbabwe begins. ■

**The ruthlessness of Mugabe has given rise to two basic reactions in Africa and the world: fruitless hand-wringing and consequence-blind militarism**



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# High Rollers

Obama learned the art of politics in backroom poker games. McCain bets thousands at the craps table. What the candidates' passions for gambling tell us about their presidential ambitions (hint: they both hate to lose)

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND MICHAEL WEISSKOPF

**T**HE CASINO CRAPS PLAYER IS A SOCIAL animal, a thrill seeker who wants not just to win but to win with a crowd. Unlike cards or a roulette wheel, well-thrown dice reward most everyone on the rail, yielding a collective yawp that drowns out the slots. It is a game for showmen, Hollywood stars and basketball legends with girls on their arms. It is also a favorite pastime of the presumptive Republican nominee for President, John McCain.

The backroom poker player, on the other hand, is more cautious and self-absorbed. Card games may be social, but they are played in solitude. No need for drama. The quiet card counter is king, and only a novice banks on luck. In this game, a good

bluff trumps blind faith, and the studied observer beats the showman. So it is fitting that the presumptive Democratic nominee, Barack Obama, raked in so many pots in his late-night games with political friends.

For centuries, the nation's political leaders have loved their games of chance. Andrew Jackson owned fighting cocks and raced horses. Richard Nixon helped finance his first congressional race with his World War II poker winnings. Teddy Roosevelt noted that the professional gamblers he knew "usually made good soldiers." But even among this crowd, McCain and Obama are distinctive. For both men, games of chance have been not just a hobby but also a fundamental feature in their development as people and politicians. For Obama, weekly poker games with lobbyists and fellow state senators helped cement his position as a rising star in Illinois politics. For McCain, jaunts to the craps table helped burnish his image as a political hot dog who relished the thrill of a good fight, even if the risk of failure was high.

### The Thrill of the Game

MCCAIN'S PASSION FOR GAMBLING and taking other risks has never been a secret. He was a Navy flyer, trained in the art of controlled crash landings on aircraft carriers. He spent his youth sneaking booze behind the backs of his schoolmasters and reveling in his stack of demerits. He came of age on shore leave in the casinos of Monte Carlo, in a Navy culture that had long embraced dice in the officers' clubs.

The moral code of McCain's youth always distinguished between sins of honor and sins of pleasure. "Don't lie, cheat or steal—anything else is fairgame," McCain told his son Jack when the boy left for the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Md. In his memoir, McCain recalls that by his mid-20s, he "had begun to aspire to a reputation for more commendable achievements than long nights of drinking and gambling."

Over time he gave up the drinking bouts, but he never quite kicked the periodic yen for dice. In the past decade, he has played on Mississippi River boats, on Indian land, in Caribbean craps pits and along the length of the Las Vegas Strip. Back in 2005 he joined a group of journalists at a magazine-industry conference in Puerto Rico, offering betting strategy on request. "Enjoying craps opens up a window on a central thread constant in John's life," says John Weaver, McCain's former chief strategist, who followed him to many a casino. "Taking a chance, playing against the odds." Aides say McCain tends to play for a few thousand dollars at a time and avoids taking markers, or loans, from

## 'He clearly knows that this is on the borderline of what is acceptable for him to be doing.'

—A REPUBLICAN WHO HAS WATCHED MCCAIN PLAY CRAPS

the casinos, which he has helped regulate in Congress. "He never, ever plays on the house," says Mark Salter, a McCain adviser. The goal, say several people familiar with his habit, is never financial. He loves the thrill of winning and the camaraderie at the table.

Only recently have McCain's aides urged him to pull back from the pastime. In the heat of the GOP primary fight last spring, he announced on a visit to the Vegas Strip that he was going to the casino floor. When his aides stopped him, fearing a public relations disaster, McCain suggested that they ask the casino to take a craps table to a private room, a high-roller privilege McCain had indulged in before. His aides, with alarm bells ringing, refused again, according to two accounts of the discussion.

"He clearly knows that this is on the borderline of what is acceptable for him to be doing," says a Republican who has watched McCain play. "And he just sort of revels in it."

### Playing to Win

IF MCCAIN PLAYS CRAPS FOR THRILLS, Obama sees gambling as a way to vent his competitive urge. His love of basketball is well known. "I could get to the rim on anybody," he told HBO's Bryant Gumbel of his high school hoops days. He could not even play golf for fun, taking lessons to lower his handicap after a few poor performances. "Barack hates to lose," says Dan Shomon, an old Chicago political aide.

Poker may be sedentary, but it is no less competitive. Obama played most regularly as an Illinois state senator in the late 1990s. The legislature met in Springfield, which had little to recommend it after hours, except on Wednesday nights, when "The Committee Meeting," as it was nicknamed, convened in state senator Terry Link's basement. Obama and fellow senators made up the "core four." The game began at 7 p.m. and often lasted until 2 a.m. There were pizza and chips, a fridge full of beer, and enough cigars for a smoke-filled room. Obama usually showed up in a baseball cap and sweats. He cadged cigarettes and drank a beer, kept up with the boys'-night-out

banter and roared at the off-color stories. When he lost a hand, Obama joked that he couldn't afford gasoline to drive home.

But he always had his head in the game. The stakes were low enough—\$1 ante and \$3 top raise—to afford a long shot. Not Obama. He studied the cards as closely as he would an eleventh-hour amendment to a bill. The odds were religion to him. Only rarely did he bluff. "He had a pretty good idea about what his chances were," says Denny Jacobs, a former state senator from East Moline.

Obama's play-to-win approach drove other players crazy. Former state senator Larry Walsh, a conservative corn farmer from Joliet, once got ready to pull in a pot with a four-of-a-kind hand. But Obama had four of a kind too, of higher rank. Walsh slammed down his cards. "Doggone it, Barack, if you were more liberal in your card-playing and more conservative in your politics, you and I would get along much better," he said.

Obama used the sessions to bond with those who could aid his political ascent, including several lawmakers with whom he forged lasting political alliances, as well as some lobbyists. The banks, utilities and insurance agents were often represented. "We all became buddies in the card games, but there never were any favors granted," says David Manning of the Community Bankers Association of Illinois.

Obama usually left a winner. But he reaped a bigger payoff politically. When he announced his plans to run for the U.S. Senate, his poker pals—white guys from small-town Illinois—were among his earliest supporters. Link says the Wednesday-night gang didn't realize how far Obama would go: "Nobody said, 'Mr. President, it's your deal.'" But Obama's risk-averse, methodical approach to five-card stud gives Link confidence in his potential governing style. "If he runs his presidency the way he plays poker, I'll sleep good at night," he says.

What do the candidates' gambling proclivities tell us about who they are? Politicians talk of their campaigns as grand contests of ideas. But in practice, the political battle is both a crapshoot and a poker game, a study in managing risk and in manipulating people. And there is no bigger gamble than a presidential run, which both candidates have conducted very differently this cycle. McCain's campaign, like his life, has been marked by its embrace of living dangerously and by clear runs of fortune and disappointment. Obama, meanwhile, has succeeded, no less remarkably, by diligently executing a premeditated strategy. But the general-election game is new to both men. And as the stakes rise, both know they'll need a little luck.

# How America Decides

**Catholic Voters in 2008.** With the economy and Iraq topping voter concerns, abortion has receded into the political background. That puts Catholics up for grabs—and Obama is winning some converts

BY AMY SULLIVAN

**D**OUGLAS KMCIEC IS THE KIND OF Catholic voter the GOP usually doesn't have to think twice about. The Pepperdine law professor and former Reagan Justice Department lawyer (Samuel Alito was an office mate) attends Mass each morning. He has actively opposed abortion for most of his adult life, working with crisis pregnancy centers to persuade women not to undergo the procedure. He is a member of the conservative Federalist Society and occasionally sends a contribution to Focus on the Family.

He is also a vocal supporter of Barack Obama. Kmiec made waves in the Catholic world in late March when he endorsed

the Democratic candidate. But Kmiec insists that while he still considers himself a Republican, his choice is clear this election year. "I have grave moral doubts about the war, serious doubts about the economic course Republicans have followed over the last seven years, and believe that immigration reforms won't come about by Republican hands," he says. "Senator McCain would not be the strongest advocate for the balance of things that I care about."

A new TIME poll of Catholic voters reveals that Kmiec is part of a broader pattern. Although Obama was thought to have a "Catholic problem" during the Democratic primaries, in which Hillary Clinton won a majority of Catholic votes,

he has pulled even with John McCain among that constituency—Obama now polls 44% to his GOP opponent's 45%.

There are 47 million Catholic voters, and while they are too numerous and varied to speak of as a monolithic Catholic bloc, they have long been a kind of holy grail for presidential candidates. The winner of eight out of the past nine elections has captured a majority of Catholic votes (they voted for Al Gore in 2000), and there are large Catholic concentrations in key states like Florida, Ohio and New Mexico.

The trick is figuring out what Catholics want. For decades, they were part of the New Deal coalition and were largely concerned with economics and foreign policy. More recently, Republicans have cut into that advantage by appealing to Catholics on social issues, a courtship that culminated in George W. Bush's victory in 2004. The TIME poll confirmed that a majority of Catholics (59%) can be broadly defined as pro-life (opposing abortion except to protect a woman's life or health or in cases of rape or incest). But these pro-life Catholics are actually split into two voting camps.

Many conservative Catholics consider abortion to be the determining factor in their electoral decisions, and as a result they almost always support Republican candidates. But for other Catholics, social issues can be trumped in times of economic and national insecurity. What's interesting about this year is that Catholics like Kmiec are moving from the first group of voters to the second.

Republicans entered this election season from a position of disadvantage with Catholics for the same reasons they face problems with the general electorate: the economy, high gas prices and the ongoing war in Iraq. But they've also failed to embrace the model of Catholic engagement that Bush spent six years putting into place. The Obama campaign is taking advantage of that opportunity. Just as Ronald Reagan brought large numbers of Catholic Democrats into the GOP in the 1980s, Obama is hoping to woo them back and create a new Catholic category: Obama Republicans.

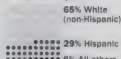
## Tending the Flock

WHEN KMCIEC WAS GROWING UP IN CHICAGO in the 1950s and '60s, Catholics ran the city's Democratic political machine. The New Deal had cemented their loyalty to the party, but those ties began to fray in the late '60s and early '70s as many Catholics felt alienated by everything from the *Roe v. Wade* decision to urban busing initiatives. Kmiec was part of the wave of Reagan

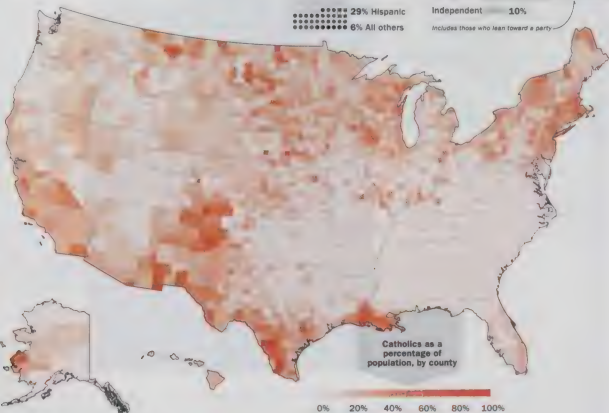
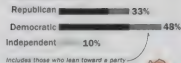
## America's Catholics ...

They're about 24% of the population and could tip key states this fall

### Race/ethnicity



### Political affiliation



## ... and how they view the candidates

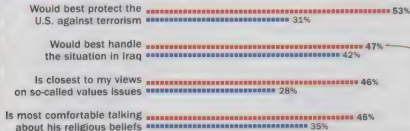
A new TIME poll shows McCain and Obama virtually tied, but each man has perceived strengths

**45%**

of Catholics support John McCain



### McCain's ADVANTAGES WITH CATHOLICS



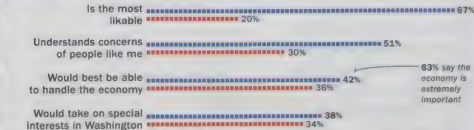
57% of Catholics say the situation in Iraq is extremely important in this election

**44%**

of Catholics support Barack Obama



### Obama's ADVANTAGES WITH CATHOLICS



63% say the economy is extremely important

Sources: Demographic data from the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life; map data from Religious Congregations & Membership in the United States, 2000, Glenmary Research Center via the Association of Religion Data Archives. The TIME poll was conducted June 18-25 among a national random sample of 600 adult Catholic likely voters by MRB Public Affairs. Catholics were identified both in a new cross-section sample and in their previous TIME random-digit-dial samples. The margin of error is  $\pm 4$  percentage points. The full questionnaire and trend data can be found at [www.time.com](http://www.time.com).



Democrats who were drawn to the Republican President's policies and vision.

The Republican Party worked to keep them in the fold. In the late 1990s, the Republican National Committee (RNC) created a Catholic Task Force, and by the end of the 2000 election cycle, the party had compiled a list of 3 million church-attending Catholics. The RNC spent \$2.5 million contacting these targeted Catholics with direct mail and phone calls.

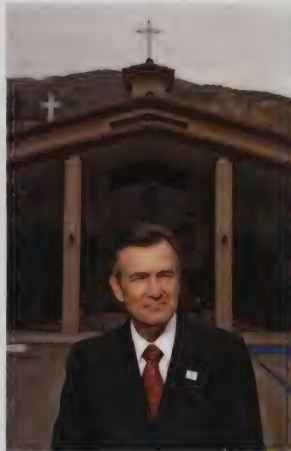
But that was just a dry run. Four years later, the RNC recruited some 50,000 Catholic team leaders to conduct parish-level outreach for Bush's re-election campaign; the volunteers were led on the ground by more than 75 field coordinators working for the party. Their efforts were supplemented by a group of outside organizations funded by leading conservative Catholics like Tom Monaghan, the founder of Domino's Pizza. One of these groups, Priests for Life, spent \$1 million on television and newspaper ads in the last month of the campaign.

The Catholic initiative was the most ambitious religious outreach effort ever undertaken by either party. And it paid off. Bush might have expected more competition for those votes from his Catholic opponent. But John Kerry found himself the target of stinging criticism from a few bishops who argued that he should be denied Communion because of his support for abortion rights. No one on the Kerry campaign was devoted to Catholic outreach, and Kerry chose not to respond to the attacks. Bush won the Catholic vote that year, 52% to 47%.

### Faith of the Democrats

THE GOP'S SUCCESS WITH CATHOLIC VOTERS in 2004 was an astounding victory born out of Bush's personal appeal to pro-life voters and six years of party organizing at the parish level. But it also sparked a backlash in many Catholic circles that is shaping the current election.

Alarmed that their fellow Catholics were being told that abortion and gay marriage were the only relevant Catholic issues, progressive Catholics have founded several organizations in the tradition



**Catholic convert Kmiec, a Republican, supports Obama—and was denied Communion after endorsing the Democrat**

of the late Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, who preached a "consistent ethic of life." One group, Catholics United, ran radio ads in the fall of 2007 targeting pro-life Republicans who voted against expanding the State Children's Health Insurance Program, arguing that such votes were not "pro-life."

The American bishops also made an effort to broaden their teaching. In the fall of 2007, they released *Faithful Citizenship: A Call to Political Responsibility*, an unusual document that counsels against divisive politics and reminds Catholics that "all life issues are connected." Such statements have cleared the way for Catholics like Kmiec to re-evaluate what it means to cast a pro-life vote. "It's been 20-some years of trying to get the next vote on the court to overturn *Roe*," says Kmiec, "and I asked myself, What does that amount to?" He worries that by backing the GOP strategy of holding out for a ban on abortion, pro-life voters have not focused on more pragmatic ways to reduce abortion rates.

In a climate in which Catholics aren't voting based on a rather narrow ideological agenda, the mechanics of how cam-

paigns court them become more important. And it's on that level that perhaps the biggest changes from 2004 can be seen. McCain has a team of Catholic politicians, including Sam Brownback and Frank Keating, who serve as his surrogates but has few aides within the campaign to coordinate outreach. The lack of high-level religious advisers became obvious earlier this year when McCain accepted the endorsement of Evangelical pastor John Hagee, who has called the Catholic Church "the great whore of Babylon," a phrase unlikely to warm the hearts of McCain's Catholic supporters.

Obama's campaign more closely resembles the 2004 Bush outreach effort. An extensive religious outreach team has focused the bulk of its work on training ordinary Catholics to reach out to friends and neighbors by holding "values" house parties and explaining their support for Obama. The

Democrat also has a roster of high-powered Catholic surrogates who have fanned out across swing states—including Pennsylvania Senator Bob Casey Jr., whose father, the pro-life former governor, was widely viewed by Catholics as a victim of Democratic intolerance after he was not allowed to speak at the party's 1992 convention.

Obama, whose work as a community organizer was partly funded by a Catholic social-justice group, recently laid out his plan for a new and improved faith-based initiative. It is a policy extension of the phrase he often uses—"I am my brother's keeper"—to express his belief that members of a society are responsible for one another. And it is an idea rooted in the Catholic concept of the common good.

This "bottom-up, personal responsibility" message, as he describes it, appeals to Kmiec, allowing him to be not just a McCain skeptic but also an Obama supporter. That decision has not come without a cost—this spring Kmiec was denied Communion by a priest who denounced his endorsement of Obama. But with Catholics almost twice as likely to name the economy, Iraq and terrorism as their top concerns over abortion and gay marriage, Kmiec has plenty of company. Come November, that priest may be holding on to a very full bowl of wafers. ■

**'It's been 20-some years of trying to get the next vote on the court to overturn *Roe*. What does that amount to?'**

—DOUGLAS KMEIC, PEPPERDINE LAW PROFESSOR AND OBAMA SUPPORTER

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**Guantanamo Detainees: *Boumediene v. Bush*, 5-4**

Rebuke the President's antiterrorism policies, the majority said those held at Gitmo have a right to challenge their detentions in federal court. Scalia, in dissent, warned that more Americans would die as a result



**Gun Ownership: *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 5-4**

The majority, striking Washington's handgun ban, said the right to keep and bear arms applies to individuals. Dissenters said the constitutional framers did not write the Second Amendment primarily for self-defense

**NATION**

# Supreme Agreement

After years of split decisions, America's highest court has found consensus on a range of issues. How John Roberts brought the justices together

BY JEFFREY ROSEN

**T**HE BIGGEST SURPRISE FROM THE Supreme Court term that just ended: Barack Obama hearts the Roberts Court. At the end of June, the Democratic candidate praised Justice Antonin Scalia's 5-4 decision striking down the Washington ban on handgun possession, a ruling that recognizes the right to bear arms as an individual right. Two weeks earlier, from the other side of the ideological spectrum, Obama praised Justice Anthony Kennedy's 5-4 decision allowing enemy combatants to challenge their detentions in federal courts, a rebuke to the Bush Administration's policies toward Guantánamo detainees. Obama's only major quarrel with the court was the 5-4 decision banning the execution of people who rape children: he said he has long believed that "the most egregious of crimes" deserve the

death penalty. When a leading Democrat is criticizing the Supreme Court for not being conservative enough, it's time for liberals to breathe a sigh of relief.

It's true that there may be some election-year pandering in Obama's embrace of a court that many predicted would veer to the right under Chief Justice John Roberts. But by any measure, the term that just ended was hardly a disaster for liberals. On the contrary, liberals won several important victories—not only the Guantánamo and child-rape cases but also a series of employment-discrimination cases in which the court sided with workers rather than employers, by broad, bipartisan majorities.

Indeed, the court's term was something of a group hug between the liberal and conservative Justices. The Supremes were far less divided than they seemed last

year, when they sniped at one another in unusually personal terms. Despite some high-profile splits at the end, only 17% of the cases were decided by 5-4 votes—down sharply from the previous term, in which 33% of the cases were 5-4 splits. Cases upholding voter-ID requirements, execution by lethal injection, federal efforts to curb child pornography, and the detention of American citizens in Iraq were decided unanimously or by lopsided majorities.

So, what explains the new mood of bipartisan harmony on the Roberts Court? At least some of the credit goes to Roberts' personality and leadership style. He went out of his way to persuade his colleagues to turn down the volume and lighten up when they disagreed, even spicing up his dissent in a technical dispute between phone companies by borrowing playfully from Bob Dylan's *Like a Rolling Stone*: "When you got nothing, you got nothing to lose."

According to Scalia, Roberts has used his power to assign opinions when he's in the majority to encourage his colleagues to write narrow decisions that justices on both sides can accept. "The chief may say, 'Why don't you come along with a very narrow opinion? We can get seven votes for that, and it will look a lot better,'" Scalia recently said on *The Charlie Rose Show*. "You want to go along with the Chief justice because... you want to make the institution work. So he has."

This, as it happens, is precisely what Roberts promised to do at the beginning of his tenure. In July 2006, Roberts told me and other journalists that he was worried about "the personalization of judicial politics," whereby people identify the rule of law with the way individual justices vote in closely divided cases. Embracing as a model his greatest predecessor, John Marshall, Roberts said he would use his



#### Employee Discrimination: *CBOCS West v. Humphries*, 7-2

*In a reflection of the court's move toward consensus, the majority said a black man who was fired after complaining that a black co-worker was dismissed for racial reasons could sue his employer for retaliation*



#### Lethal Injection: *Baze v. Rees*, 7-2

*The court upheld Kentucky's execution method, with six Justices concluding that injection isn't cruel and unusual. The seventh opinion was from Stevens, a liberal, who said the court must follow precedent*

power to assign majority opinions to promote narrow decisions agreed to by wide, bipartisan majorities rather than by polarizing 5-4 splits. On an evenly divided court, Roberts felt he could convince the liberal and conservative camps that converging on narrow opinions was in everyone's interest.

During his first term, which ended in 2006, Roberts managed to avoid 5-4 splits—for the most part, he said, because his colleagues were eager to be nice to the new comer, like prospective in-laws meeting a fiancé for the first time at Thanksgiving. Then the honeymoon ended. When various Justices were asked last year whether they thought Roberts could rebuild an atmosphere of bipartisan harmony, they were hardly encouraging. Scalia scoffed, "Good luck!" Justice Stephen Breyer suggested Roberts could best foster comity by joining Breyer's opinions. Kennedy had a similar response: "Just let me write all the opinions!"

And yet, in his third term, Roberts has achieved what his colleagues had thought was nearly impossible. His success is a reminder of the importance of personality when it comes to leadership on the Supreme Court, in which the quirks and temperaments of individual Justices are as important as judicial philosophy in shaping the law. Roberts told me that he thought much of Marshall's success was due to the fact that his colleagues liked and trusted him. Marshall persuaded the justices, at the beginning of the 19th century, to live in the same boarding house and discuss cases over glasses of his excellent Madeira. (Once, in an unfortunate burst of temperance, when the Justices voted

to drink only when it rained, Marshall looked out the window and noted, "Such is the broad extent of our jurisdiction that by the doctrine of chances it must be raining somewhere.")

Roberts' success is also a reminder of the Chief Justice's limited but real power: as the Justice who speaks first at the court's private conference, he can frame the issues and influence the kinds of cases that the court agrees to hear in the first place. Under Roberts' leadership, the court has agreed to hear fewer polarizing constitutional cases and more cases of interest to business, which the Justices are more inclined to resolve without dividing along ideological lines. Of the 15 cases in which the U.S. Chamber of Commerce filed briefs this year, 80% were decided by 7-2 or higher, and a third were unanimous. Roberts told me that he thinks that bipartisan agreement in the less visible business cases can help develop a "culture and an ethos that says, 'It's good when we're all together.'" A sign of Roberts' success in putting his stamp on the court: he was in the majority in 90% of the cases this term,

more frequently than any other Justice.

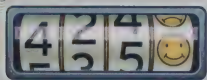
How long will the changed mood last? The role of personality on the Supreme Court shouldn't be overstated. In cases in which they have strong, pre-existing constitutional views on issues from abortion to guns to Guantánamo, the Justices are unlikely to persuade one another. And as Scalia said, "What changes the court, I assure you, is much less the character of the Chief Justice—although that has some effect—than it is the nature of the people who have been appointed." That's why, regardless of Roberts' current consensus-building, the future of the court will be determined by the next presidential election. If McCain wins and gets to replace one or two liberal Justices with reliable conservatives, there will be a lopsided conservative majority and Roberts will have little incentive to win over the marginalized liberal Justices who remain.

By contrast, if Obama wins, the ideological makeup of the court will remain the same for the foreseeable future—four liberals and four conservatives, with Kennedy in the middle. In that case, Roberts' success in promoting bipartisan unity may make the difference between a Supreme Court that declares war on Obama's domestic agenda—from health-care reform to a national response to global warming—and a court that is content to get out of the way of a Democratic President and Congress. Maybe that's why Obama is already sending bouquets to the Roberts Court: even if the Chief Justice isn't his new best friend, Obama may soon need him more than ever. ■

*Rosen, a law professor at George Washington University, is author of The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries That Defined America*

**Roberts' way** *The Chief Justice pushes narrow decisions to get broad consensus*





# 10 Things You Can Like About \$4 Gas

Pricey gas is mostly just economic pain. But beyond the agony at the pump, life is getting a little better in ways we may not notice

BY AMANDA RIPLEY

**T**HE WORLD HAD LONG ASSUMED THAT AMERICANS were just unrepentant energy pigs. If gas prices went up, well, we kept our Explorers aimed at the horizon, and little changed. We truthfully didn't have lots of options. Unlike Europeans, we didn't have jobs we could bike to or convenient public transit. Gasoline prices never stayed high enough long enough to force those kinds of shifts in how we lived.

Now here we are. Gas prices are near \$4 a gallon, as no one needs to tell you, and they are likely to stay that way. Most of us still don't have the alternatives we need to adapt with grace, which means that many will adapt just by suffering. We will run out of gas on I-80, ease our minivans over to the shoulder and tell the kids everything is O.K. We'll fall behind on Visa bills to pay for gas so we can buy food made ever more expensive by energy costs.

But it's also true that Americans are finding options where there seemed to be none. They're ready to change—just waiting for their infrastructure to catch up. They are driving to commuter-rail lines only to find there are no parking spots left. They are running fewer errands and dumping their SUVs. Public-transit use is at a 50-year high. Gas purchases are down 2% to 3%. And all those changes bring secondary, hard-earned benefits.

"You suddenly are reminded how the economy works," says Eric Roston, author of a new book about energy, *The Carbon Age*. "Nobody wants high prices for oil. But there's also no faster mechanism to change behavior." The suffering will go on. But the story, like any good tragedy, is not without redemption.

## 1 | Globalized jobs return home

The world suddenly seems big again. A family of four can't fly cross-country for much less than \$2,000. The cost of shipping a standard 40-ft. (12 m) container of couches from Shanghai to New Jersey has tripled since 2000. Trucking carrots from Mexico to Georgia makes less and less economic sense.

When John Smith started a high-end furniture company in Washington in 2003, he couldn't make everything in the U.S. and stay competitive. So his company, Willem Smith, started operations in Vietnam and Ecuador. He found himself visiting factories 11 time zones away from his four small daughters.

By last year, the cost of making and importing one of his favorite pieces, the Caballero Chair, was ballooning. He was shipping Italian leather to Vietnam and then shipping the large chair back to the States. There were other

problems too, like inflation in Vietnam. So last January, Willem Smith "repatriated" the Caballero to Hickory, N.C. That shift helps contain shipping costs and has other perks. "People are happy to buy American," Smith says. "And it felt kind of nice to bring this one home."

In more industries, such as steel, lawn-mower batteries and upscale furniture, doing business in the U.S. is starting to look slightly more feasible.



## 2 | Sprawl stalls

Across the country, real estate agents are reporting that many home buyers are looking to move closer to cities. Gas prices are shaping their decisions. A May study that examined housing values in five cities found prices had fared worse in the more distant neighborhoods. "The collapse of America's housing bubble—and its reverberations in financial markets—has obscured a tectonic shift in housing demand," wrote economist Joe Cortright in the study, sponsored by CEOs for Cities, a nonprofit group that promotes cities. "Housing in cities and neighborhoods that require lengthy commutes and provide few transportation alternatives to the private vehicle are falling in value more precipitously than in more central, compact and accessible places."



## 3 | Four-day workweeks

Companies, colleges and governments are moving to four-day weeks. Brevard Community College in Cocoa, Fla., went to four days for the 2007 summer session and saved \$268,000 in energy costs. There were unforeseen benefits too. Over the year, sick leave fell 50%, and turnover among the 1,500-person staff dropped 44%. "We thought the energy savings would be a plus.

But the reaction was about what it meant to people's family lives and their ability to take care of themselves," says college president Jim Drake. Brevard is doing four-day weeks again this summer and may make the change year-round.



## 4 | Less pollution

As people consume less fuel in America, vehicle emissions should drop. Less pollution means bluer skies and longer



lives—and the potential to slow global warming, albeit slightly. Lower energy demand means the air will

contain fewer toxic agents, like particle pollution, which can get deep into your lungs and cause serious health problems. Bottom line? About 2,220 lives have already been saved over the past year because of higher gas prices and less pollution, according to an estimate calculated for TIME by J. Paul Leigh, a University of California at Davis health-economics professor who co-wrote a study on the topic in the March 2008 *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine*. If prices remain high, we can expect some 2,000 people to avoid dying from pollution in the next 12 months.

# 55%

Decrease in Ford Motor Co. SUV sales in June

## 5 | More frugality

Trucking companies are using software to help identify optimal places for drivers to refuel and the most efficient delivery routes. Waste haulers are checking the pressure twice a day instead of every couple of days. We're all wasting less. Vespa scooter sales increased 106% in May compared with the same time last year; Ford SUV sales dropped 55% in June. Columbia, Md., resident Glenn Conrad, 58, bought a Honda Insight a few years ago and like many so-called hypermilers became obsessed with his miles-per-gallon gauge. "That thing is really addictive," he says. Although a police officer recently gave him a warning for going too slowly, he is undeterred. "If I roll both of my windows up," he says, "I instantly get about two more miles per gallon."



## 6 | Fewer traffic deaths

Every year, about 40,000 people die in traffic accidents in the U.S. If you are age 5 through 34, you are more likely to die this way than any other way. Ordinary things we do—or don't do—have extraordinary consequences. We know that higher gas prices cause many of us to slow down and drive less—which means fewer people die. Early research into 2006 accident data suggests many lives have already been spared. If gas remains at \$4 a gallon for a year or more, expect as many as 1,000 fewer fatalities a month, according to professor Michael Morisey at the University of Alabama at Birmingham and associate professor David Grabowski at Harvard Medical School, who calculated that estimate for TIME. That means annual deaths could be cut by almost a third—a public-health triumph.



## 7 | Cheaper insurance

If you are driving less, you could qualify for lower car-insurance rates. For example, if you have stopped driving to work, your classification has changed to "pleasure driver," and you could save 10% to 15% (or \$94 to \$142 on an average premium), according to the Consumer Federation of America. So if you're parked more, call your insurer.



# 85 million

Increase in public-transit trips Americans took in the first quarter of 2008 over the same period in 2007

## 8 | Less traffic

Travel on all roads dropped 2.1% in the first four months of 2008, according to the Federal Highway Administration. Wherever people can take public transit, they are. Even before the biggest gas-price hikes, a Congressional Budget Office study of California freeways from 2003 to 2006 showed that the number of freeway trips went down 0.7% for every 50¢ increase in gas prices—but only in areas near public transit. Cities are struggling to keep up. BART, the San Francisco Bay Area rail system, removed seats to open up more standing room. In Boston, where turnpike use declined by 600,000 cars in May, officials are pleading with public-transit passengers to travel at nonpeak times.



## 9 | More cops on the beat

Across the country, police bike and foot patrols are up, and cops are being told to cut down on idling their cruisers—which is sort of like telling a teenager to stop using his cell phone. Georgia state police have been told to cut driving time 25%. In Shelby, N.C., police officers have been ordered to park their cars for 15 min. every 2 hours and to stop taking patrol cars out for lunch. In May the city government's fuel consumption decreased. The longer-term effects may include better community relations—and a slimmer police.

## 10 | Less obesity

People walk more, bike more and eat out less when gas is pricey. A permanent \$1 hike in prices may cut obesity 10%, saving thousands of lives and billions of dollars a year, estimates Charles Courtemanche, an assistant professor of economics at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. At Orange Cycle, the largest bike store in Orlando, Fla., sales of upright urban bikes from March to June rose 57% compared with the same period last year. The shop was around for the 1970s gas crisis too, but this feels different, says co-owner Deena Breed. "I don't think it's just gas," she says. "It has to do with weight, exercise, community—a general sense of not being so wasteful." —WITH REPORTING BY MAYA CURRY

# Pick Up a Mop

In tandem with CNN's *Planet in Peril* series, TIME looks at new ways to beat global warming. One method is not just to stop emitting CO<sub>2</sub> but also to soak up what's already there

BY ROBERT KUNZIG



**Carbon above and below**  
*The oceans aid the sky by absorbing some CO<sub>2</sub> in greenhouse gases. If they could be made to absorb more, warming might be curbed.*

**CNN** WORLDWIDE INVESTIGATION  
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*Planet in Peril: Battle  
Lines*, coming this fall



WEDMAN—JAMES NAY

**T**HE EARTH WILL LITTLE NOTE NOR LONG REMEMBER what we do to it—at least over the course of its own grand time scale rather than our brief, urgent one. Once we stop burning fossil fuels, it could take as long as 100,000 years for the carbon dioxide we've been pouring into the atmosphere to be gone. Most of it will have settled into the ocean, on its way to becoming new limestone beds on the seafloor; the rest will have been absorbed by the land, some of it eventually forming new deposits of coal. Even now, the water and soil are acting like great sponges, soaking up at least some of the carbon our industrial species emits every day and slowing—if not preventing—the climate-changing damage we're doing to our world.

That's why a paper that came out last October in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* was so alarming. CO<sub>2</sub>, the scientists concluded, is piling up faster than ever in the air, not only because our emissions continue to rise but also because the ocean and land have quit sopping up as much as they used to. Apparently, they've had enough.

Dialing back emissions now will thus be less effective than we hope, because a growing share of what we still produce will stay in the sky rather than being absorbed by the oceans and land. The answer may be to quit thinking about solving climate change as only a matter of cutting greenhouse gases off at the source and to start considering how to clean up the mess that's already there. After all, when a busted pipe floods your home, you do more than just fix the leak and let evaporation take care of the water. You get out a bucket and start mopping.

In small ways, we've been trying to mop up our CO<sub>2</sub>, deluge for a while. It's true enough that if you plant a tree, you clean the air, because trees do take carbon out of the sky—but only a little and not for long. The moment a tree dies, it usually begins to release the carbon it absorbed, and logging and burning only accelerate that process. So scientists are thinking bigger thoughts: Is it possible to increase the oceans' capacity to absorb carbon—without making the water so acidic it dissolves corals? Is it possible to scrub the atmosphere itself somehow, extracting CO<sub>2</sub>, the way a filter cleans the air in a home? Macroengineering like this is a fun thing for scientists to dream about, but it usually does not go much further, the scale and risks being simply too great. But that hasn't stopped big ideas from coming—which is fortunate, because any idea that's going to have much effect on global warming is going to have to be big indeed.

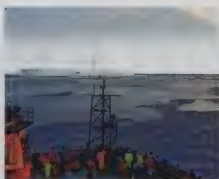
### The Iron Ocean

ONE OF THE REASONS THE OCEANS SOAK UP SO MUCH carbon is that phytoplankton—microscopic floating plants—love it, feasting on it and taking it out of circulation. The problem is, there are vast regions where the water is iron poor and plankton languish. The amount of iron the plants need and aren't getting is tiny—less than 20 lb. per sq. mi. (3 kg per sq km) by some estimates. If this were pumped as a diluted slurry into the wake of a ship steaming back and forth like a tractor seeding a field, the plankton would bloom and global CO<sub>2</sub> levels—in theory—would fall.

Sometime next year, a California start-up called Climos plans to experiment with the technique, fertilizing about 4,000 sq. mi. (about 10,000 sq km) of ocean. The goal is not to prove that the iron makes the plankton grow but to de-

termine how much carbon this takes out of the atmosphere and for how long. "When we add iron, we create plankton blooms," says oceanographer Ken Buesseler of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, who led an earlier, smaller iron-seeding test, "but a lot of that just dies and decomposes" at the surface. Only when organic matter snows into the deep does CO<sub>2</sub> get locked away. Climos is in the process of raising the \$12 million or so it will need to run its experiment, which will use rain-gauge-like underwater traps and other techniques to capture and measure this precipitate.

Scientists have plenty of reasons to be skeptical about iron-seeding, not the least being that it will alter the base of the marine food web, with ripple effects that are hard to foresee. Environmental opposition scuttled a similar plan of Climos' chief rival, another California company, Planktos. International law on the matter is murky. In May, the U.N. Convention on Biological Diversity called for a moratorium on everything but "small" experiments "in coastal waters." Climos chief science officer Margaret Leinen concedes that even if the idea works, it won't remotely deal with all the planet's excess carbon. But she says it doesn't have to. "We're not thinking of this as solving the problem," she says. "We're looking at this as



**Precious metal** A 2001 expedition studied iron levels in the Antarctic during the spring thaw

one of a whole portfolio of techniques."

Another part of that portfolio could focus on a component of the ocean far more plentiful than its plankton: its salt. Sea salt, like table salt, is made of sodium chloride. If you break that compound in two, you create an acid and a base. Remove some of the acid, and you change ocean chemistry in such a way that atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> dissolves into the water, where it is taken up in the shells of marine creatures, which fall to the seafloor and become limestone. Essentially, says Kurt House, a Harvard graduate student who came up

with the idea when he was jogging by the Charles River, the ocean "could become a giant carbon dioxide collector."

Easy, right? Well, one part is, yes. Salt-splitting involves old technology—used in manufacturing chlorine—and is done simply by running an electric current through a pure brine solution, causing the positive sodium and negative chloride ions to head toward opposite poles. The technique does not yet work on something as gunky and mineral-laden as seawater, but that could be figured out.

The bigger problem is scale. According to House's calculations, his plan would require 100 seawater electrolysis plants, each as large as the largest sewage-treatment plant on Earth, built on shorelines around the world. They would draw out 180 billion metric tons of seawater each year, split the salt, keep the acid and pour back the water. And even that would remove just 10% of the more than 30 billion metric tons of CO<sub>2</sub> we put into the air annually.

What's more, you'd be left with a lot of hydrochloric acid to get rid of on land, while the changed ocean chemistry would surely kill a lot of fish—though only, says House, in the immediate vicinity of the electrolysis plants. "I would bet against any of this happening in the next half-century," House concedes. Still, he adds, "if

## Three Ways to Clean the Air

They may seem improbable, but radical ideas like these have scientists thinking about creative approaches to removing carbon from the atmosphere

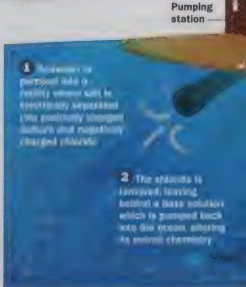
### Iron-Seeding

Phytoplankton need iron to grow, and in the process they absorb CO<sub>2</sub>. The more metal, the more plankton and the less carbon



### Changing Ocean Chemistry

Large pumping stations could make the world's oceans hungry for carbon by turning them less acidic



global warming gets really bad, we could do it." Harvard has applied for a patent on the process just in case.

### Flypaper in the Sky

FOR ANYONE UNEASY ABOUT MESSING WITH the chemistry of the ocean—which is probably pretty much everyone—there is one more way to go, and it's being studied in a warehouse in Tucson, Ariz., by a company named Global Research Technologies (GRT). Developed by GRT president Allen Wright and Columbia University physicist Klaus Lackner, the system consists of 32 hanging plastic panels, each 9 ft. high and 4 ft. deep (2.7 by 1.2 m), spaced about half an inch apart. As air wafts through those spaces, CO<sub>2</sub> sticks to the proprietary plastic; the panels are made of. The device in Tucson is now scrubbing about 50 lb. (23 kg) of CO<sub>2</sub> a day out of the air. "If we built one the size of the Great Wall of China," Wright says, "and it removed 100% of the CO<sub>2</sub> that went through it, it would capture half of all the emissions in the world."

What Wright actually envisions is not a Great Wall of proprietary plastic, but fields of much smaller, mass-produced scrubbers, each fitting into a 40-ft.-long (12 m) shipping container. Scatter 20 million of them in remote spots around the world, and you could take care of the emissions from all the



CO<sub>2</sub> scrubber Wright and his invention; a few million of them could make a real difference

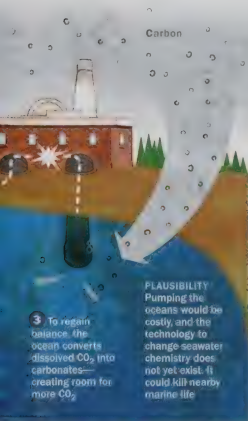
vehicles on the planet. And what do you do with the carbon you collect? For starters, you could sell captured greenhouse gasses to, well, greenhouses; farmers pay up to \$300 per ton for the stuff to help plants grow. If the scrubbers were deployed on a grand scale, though, lakes of liquid CO<sub>2</sub>

**'We're not thinking of this as solving the problem. We're looking at this as one of a portfolio of techniques.'**

—MARGARET LEINEN, CHIEF SCIENCE OFFICER AT CLIMOS

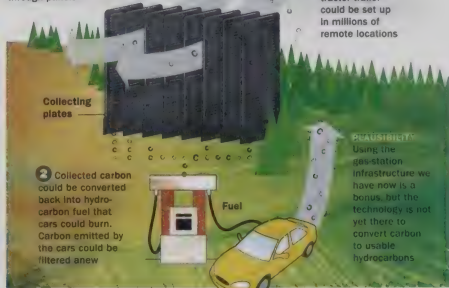
would need to be pumped into deep underground reservoirs. A more exciting—if more remote—possibility is to combine CO<sub>2</sub> with hydrogen and convert it back into fuel that cars could burn again. This would release more CO<sub>2</sub>, which scrubbers would pull back out of the air, in a closed loop.

Right now, most of the considerable skepticism directed at the idea concerns price and scale. But there's skepticism toward any technology that aims to reinvent the way we produce energy and clean up the mess it makes, whether it's air scrubbers, ocean-seeding, windmills or nuclear plants. The only point of nearly universal agreement is that we can't keep going the way we are now. A little imaginative science just may produce some of the many answers we so badly need. ■



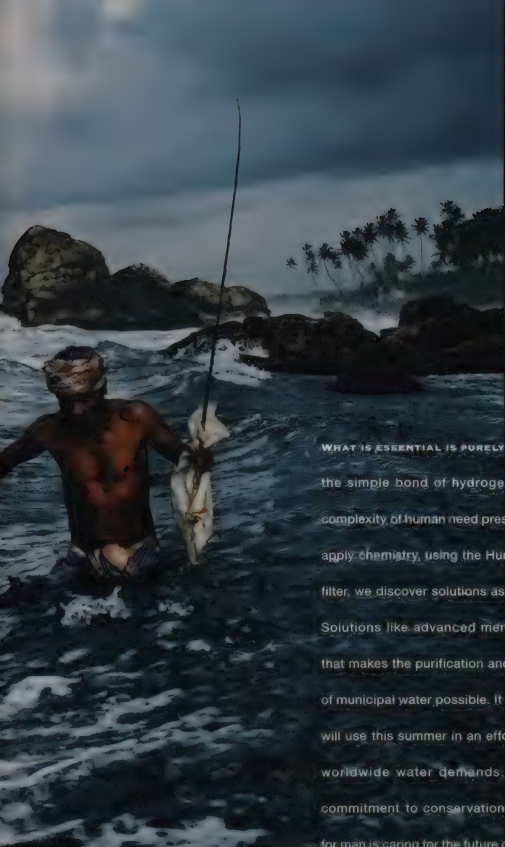
### Carbon-Scrubbing

A new kind of plastic could act as carbon flypaper, removing CO<sub>2</sub> from the air as breezes blow through panels









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# The Seriously Funny Man

Mark Twain was our first great political wit and a dogged defender of racial equality. Jon Stewart, Barack Obama and the rest of America are in his debt

BY RICHARD LACAYO

IN THE 1880s THE BRITISH POET AND CULTURE CRITIC Matthew Arnold paid two visits to the U.S. to observe the native customs. Eventually he set down his impressions in a book, *Civilization in the United States*. On the whole, he didn't think there was much. For one thing, he was troubled by the way Americans appeared to lack any capacity for reverence toward superior men. "If there be a discipline in which the Americans are wanting," he pronounced, "it is the discipline of awe and respect." And in that connection, one institution of American life struck him as an especially bad idea. That was what he called "the addiction to 'the funny man,' who is a national misfortune there."

Arnold didn't mention any funnyman in particular. He didn't have to. In an essay six years earlier, he had already attacked by name the most famous American funnyman of all, Mark Twain. His humor, Arnold sniffed, was "so attractive to the Philistine." It would be truer to say it was attractive to anyone who valued plain speaking and the kind of deadly wit that could cut through the cant and hypocrisy surrounding any topic, no matter how sensitive: war, sex, religion, even race. Twain was righteous without being pious, angry for all the right reasons and funny in all the right ways. You might say he gave virtue a good name.

All the same, Twain was stung by Arnold's words and prepared a reply that he never published. That's a shame, because it includes the single best one-line defense not just of himself but also of how a democratic society works in the first place. "A discriminating irreverence," he wrote, "is the creator and protector of human liberty." This would be the polite way of saying "Go stuff your awe."

Actually, it wasn't like Twain to choose the polite way to say anything. In a career that lasted more than 50 years, he was the authentic voice of American contrarianism, a man born to gore sacred cows and make rude noises in public, somebody whose idea of humanist piety was to say, "All I care to know

is that a man is a human being—that is enough for me; he can't be any worse."

And thanks to that "discriminating irreverence," by the 1880s Twain was one of the best-known living Americans, the first writer to enjoy the kind of fame reserved until then for Presidents, generals and barn-burning preachers. Not quite a century after his death, in 1910, we get a lot of our news from people like him—funnymen (and -women) who talk about things that are not otherwise funny at all. This is an election year in which some of the most closely followed commentators are comedians like Jon Stewart, Bill Maher, Stephen Colbert and the cast of *Saturday Night Live*. All of them are descended from that man in the white suit.

It could even be said that Barack Obama owes a debt to Twain. In post-Civil War America, a nation struggling to fit together the pieces of its racial puzzle, Twain spoke loud and clear about race. And in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, a novel that qualifies as a classic by every definition but his own—"something that everybody wants to have read and nobody wants to read"—he produced one of the wisest meditations on race in all of American literature.

So in one sense, Arnold was right: the funnyman was a national phenomenon. And still is. But it was no misfortune. Reverence and awe aren't democratic virtues. The last thing you need in a free society is people who know their place. Twain knew that. It's one reason we know his place—and it's up there very high. ■

**American idol** Twain, pictured here in December 1908, was the first U.S. writer to achieve the kind of fame normally reserved for Presidents and generals

**America's Original Superstar**  
BY ROY BLOUNT JR.  
PAGE 48

**The Essential Mark Twain**  
PAGE 53

**Man of the World**  
BY JACKSON DYKMAN  
PAGE 54

**Getting Past Black and White**  
BY STEPHEN L. CARTER  
PAGE 56

# America's Original Superstar

Mark Twain skewered the powerful, mocked the pious and helped change a nation

BY ROY BLOUNT JR.

**W**HAT, IF ANYTHING, ABOUT this benighted moment of American life will anyone in the future look back on with nostalgia? Well, those of us who have cable are experiencing a golden age of sarcasm (from the Greek *sarkazein*, "to chew the lips in rage"). Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert, Bill Maher and Keith Olbermann are digging into our direst forebodings so adroitly and intensely that we may want to cry, "Stop tickling!" Forget earnest punditry. In a world of hollow White House pronouncements, evaporating mainstream media and metastasizing bloggery, it's the mocking heads who make something like sense.

Let not those heads swell, however. News in the form of edgy drollery may seem a brave new thing, but it can all be traced back to one source, the man Ernest Hemingway said all of modern American literature could be traced back to: Mark Twain. Oh, that old cracker-barrel guy, you may say. White suit, cigar, reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated—but he died back in 1910, no? White, male, and didn't he write in dialect? What does he have to do with the issues of our day?

As it happens, many of these were also the issues of his day, and he addressed them as eloquently as anyone has since. The idea that America is a Christian nation? Andrew Carnegie brought that up to him once. "Why, Carnegie," Twain answered, "so is Hell."

What about those Abu Ghraib photographs? In "King Leopold's Soliloquy," a fulminating essay he published in 1905, when he was a very cantankerous 70, Twain imagines the ruler of Belgium pitying himself for the inconvenience of photos show-

TOP: Twain at 15, when he was an assistant at his brother's newspaper in Hannibal, Mo. He holds a printer's stick with the letters SAM

RIGHT: Samuel Langhorne Clemens, a.k.a. Mark Twain, pictured here circa 1900



## The Life and Times Of Mark Twain

A side-by-side look at the man and the events that shaped his world

- 1835**  
Samuel Langhorne Clemens is born Nov. 30 in Florida, Mo. Two months premature, he remains in poor health for the first 10 years of his life.

● **1835**  
Samuel Morse invents a commercially viable telegraph and, later, his code for sending messages. Andrew Jackson is America's President.
- 1839**  
The Clemenses move 25 miles (40 km) to the Mississippi River port of Hannibal, later immortalized as St. Petersburg in *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*.

● **1837**  
The first steamship built for North Atlantic ocean travel, *The Great Western*, is launched. Three years later, Cunard begins regularly scheduled transatlantic sailings.
- 1843-44**  
The family moves to the home with a whitewashed fence that will provide inspiration for a famous scene in *Tom Sawyer*.

● **1846**  
U.S.-Mexican war, which ends in 1848 with Mexico ceding about half its territory to the U.S.
- 1848**  
A year after his father's death, Clemens leaves school. Despite having just a fifth-grade education, he goes to work at his brother Orion's newspaper.

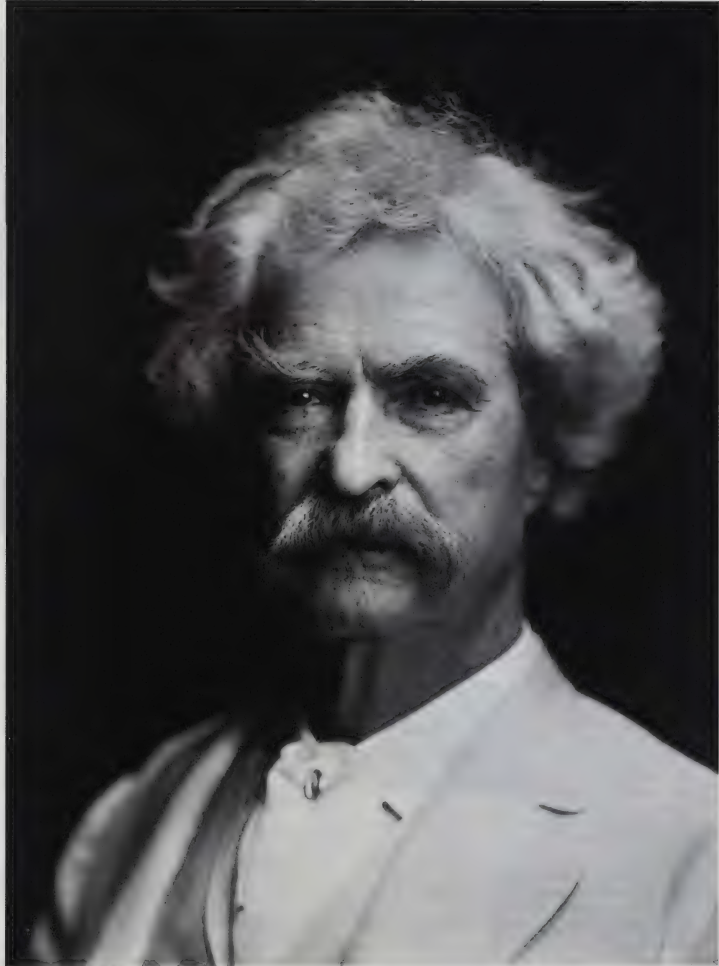
● **1848**  
The California Gold Rush begins. Few actually strike it rich.
- 1851**  
His earliest sketch, *A Gallant Fireman*, appears in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

● **1851**  
Isaac Singer patents the sewing machine.
- 1853**  
Clemens leaves Hannibal and works as a printer in St. Louis, New York City and Philadelphia.

● **1857**  
At age 22, he boards a steamboat for New Orleans, intending to make his way to South America. Instead, he remains in the U.S. and becomes an apprentice riverboat pilot.
- **1859**  
Charles Darwin publishes *On the Origin of Species*.







ing natives of the Congo whose hands have been cut off by Belgian exploiters. In the good old days, Leopold complains, he could deny atrocities and be believed. "Then all of a sudden came the crash! That is to say, the incorruptible Kodak—and all the harmony went to hell! The only witness I have encountered in my long experience that I couldn't bribe."

Waterboarding? In 1902, American soldiers were involved in a war to suppress rebels in the Philippines, which the U.S. had taken from Spain in the Spanish-American War, then decided to keep for itself instead of granting the Filipinos the independence they thought they had been promised. That outcome enraged Twain. So did "the torturing of Filipinos by the awful 'water-cure.'"

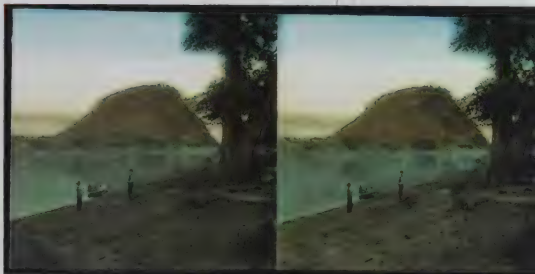
"To make them confess—what?" Twain asked. "Truth? Or lies? How can one know which it is they are telling? For under unendurable pain a man confesses anything that is required of him, true or false, and his evidence is worthless."

Whether Twain was talking about racism at home, the foreign misadventures of the Western powers or the excesses of the era of greed he initially flourished in after the Civil War, his target was always human folly and hypocrisy, which turn out to be perennial topics for further study.

Here he is in *Letters from the Earth*, speaking in the voice of Satan commenting on the strangeness of man's ways: "He has imagined a heaven, and has left entirely out of it the supremest of all his delights... sexual intercourse! It is as if a lost and perishing person in a roasting desert should be told by a rescuer he might choose and have all longed-for things but one, and he should elect to leave out water!"

Strong stuff, especially when it's funny. Sometimes unsettling too. But the man who said those things came from America's heart. Mark Twain, who was born Samuel Langhorne Clemens in 1835, grew

up on the nation's literal main stream, the Mississippi River, in Hannibal, Mo. Having failed to find a ship that would take him to South America and the fortune he proposed to make from coca, by the age of 23 he had become a Mississippi-steamboat pilot. It was a job he held just briefly, but the memory of the river, its enchantments and dangers, found its way years later into his most powerful book, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. It



*Stereograph of the Mississippi, circa 1880s-1900. Twain traveled up the river from New Orleans to Minnesota in 1882*

RIGHT: Daguerreotype of gold miners with a sluice, at the height of the Gold Rush in 1850. Twain would try his hand at mining 12 years later



*Twain with his wife Olivia on board the S.S. Northland in July 1895, while on his worldwide lecture tour to pay off the family debts*

**1861** River traffic is brought to a halt by the Civil War, and Clemens joins a group of Confederate volunteers—for a couple of weeks. He then heads for Nevada to meet up with Orion.

**1862** Tries prospecting for silver, then becomes a newspaper reporter.

**1863** After trying out various pen names—including W. Epaminondas Adrastus Perkins—Clemens settles on Mark Twain. It's a river man's term for measuring water two fathoms (12 ft. or 3.7 m) deep.

**1864** He leaves Nevada and works for a San Francisco newspaper.

**1867** Publishes his first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches*. Travels to Europe and the Holy Land, a trip he recalls in *The Innocents Abroad*.

**1870** Marries Olivia Langdon, the daughter of a wealthy businessman from Elmira, N.Y.

**1873** Publishes his first novel, *The Gilded Age*, attacking the U.S.'s obsession with money.

**1876** *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* is published to immediate success. It has never gone out of print.

**1861** The Civil War begins. It ends four years later, after more than 610,000 are killed and another 500,000 are wounded.



**1867** The U.S. buys Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million.

**1869** Transcontinental railroad completed, 15th Amendment gives former slaves the right to vote.

**1876** Alexander Graham Bell receives a U.S. patent for the telephone.

**1877** Thomas Edison invents the phonograph, and two years later the lightbulb.

also found its way into his pen name. Mark Twain, the name he began to write under in 1863, was a river man's term meaning a depth of two fathoms, or 12 ft. (3.7 m).

When the Civil War broke out, Twain may have briefly entertained pro-Union sentiments but at length decided to serve with a ragtag bunch of Confederate irregulars. After a couple of weeks, "hunted like a rat the whole time," he thought better of that commitment and, as Huck Finn did, lit out for the territory. This territory was Nevada and California, where he prospected for silver without luck and practiced scurrilous journalism and general drunkardry with zest.

Twain first came to national attention in 1865, when he published a comical short story in dialect, which was eventually titled *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*. ("You never see a frog so modest and straightforward as he was, for all he was so gifted.") It appeared in newspapers all across the country, was received as a whole new kind of hilarity and made him famous. "At the close of the Civil War, Americans were ready for a good cleansing laugh, untethered to bitter political argument," writes Twain's recent, so far definitive biographer, Ron Powers. And at least in this first moment of his fame, that's what Twain gave them.

In the career as an audience-convulsing lecturer that grew out of that first small triumph, Twain would become, as Powers puts it, "the nation's first rock star." We know his voice only from written descriptions of it. It was resonant enough to hold a large lecture-hall audience rapt. He spoke in a slow backwoods drawl, with many strategic pauses. In 1891 he experimented with an Edison dictating machine but concluded that "you can't write literature with it." (He liked to have a human secretary taking notes and laughing in the right places.) But he wasn't the sort of funny man who laughs at his own jokes. In performance and in life, Twain's facial expression—except, presumably, when he was furious, which was often—was deadpan. After Twain's death, the editor of the *North American Review* recalled that he had known him for 30 years and never seen him laugh.

In the first flush of success, Twain began work on a travel book, *The Innocents Abroad*, that would bring him sizable amounts of money. In that book he simultaneously took on the pretensions of Europe and the spectacle of a bunch of comical American tourists, including himself, making a sustained encounter with an Old World that was never quite as impressive as it was supposed to be.

Travel writing was lucrative, but novels were what serious literary men were ex-

pected to produce, and from the start Twain longed to be taken seriously, to be regarded as more than "merely" a humorist. So by 1873 he had rolled out his first novel, *The Gilded Age*, which he co-wrote with a Connecticut journalist, Charles Dudley Warner. With that book's title, Twain gave the post-Civil War era, a time of boundless greed and opportunism, the name it still has and that it shares, in some quarters, with the era we seem to be willy-nilly emerging from.

Once Twain found his calling as a writer and lecturer, success came quickly and abundantly. He may have been a critic of the Gilded Age, but he wasn't shy about taking on the trappings of a successful man. When the publishing royalties came pouring in, he built in Hartford, Conn., a big, ornate, financially burdensome house in a style that's been called "steamboat Gothic." It has been fully open to the public since 1974, but recently it has run into serious financial difficulties. A few years ago the group that maintains the house added an expensive visitors' center. Now it can't afford the upkeep, and there's a danger that the house will have to close.

## He may have been a critic of the Gilded Age, but Twain wasn't shy about taking on the trappings of a successful man

To be honest, it's a spooky place—his favorite daughter died there, ranting and raving—and all the more worth preserving for that. I played billiards there once, on Mark Twain's table, with Garrison Keillor on his radio show. (Radio is a good medium for billiards because you can lie about how many balls you are sinking.) This is not the first time the house has been threatened by debt. That happened in 1891. Back then it was due to Twain's irrational exuberance. He had set up his own publishing company, which flourished for a while but eventually went under. Even before it failed, the Clemenses were compelled to leave the house and go traveling. (In those days, believe it or not, Americans could live less expensively in Europe than at home.) Then their finances got even worse. A marvelous new kind of typesetting machine that Twain had pumped a fortune into had ultimately proved unworkable. Eventually he owed creditors about \$100,000, or roughly 2 million of today's poor excuses for dollars.

But Twain declined to let his admirers

organize a relief fund. He resolved to make enough money himself, writing and lecturing, to pay back every cent. "Honor is a harder master than the law," he said, sounding considerably more righteous than usual. But it was actually his wife, supported by Henry H. Rogers, an otherwise ruthless Standard Oil exec who had volunteered to manage Twain's money, who insisted he not take an easier way out.

Twain mostly stayed abroad for the rest of the 1890s, establishing his celebrity in Europe and touring the world, making speeches and gathering material for his final, largely acerbic travel book, *Following the Equator*. When he returned to the U.S. in 1900, the Gilded Age was fading, but America was throwing its weight around internationally. Now Twain was not only solvent again but much in vogue—"The most conspicuous person on the planet," if he did say so himself. The renewed snap in the old boy's garters resounded around the world, as he took stands on American politics that, as his biographer Powers puts it, "beggared the Democrats' timidity and the Republicans' bombast."

The Spanish-American War of 1898 had met with Twain's initial approval because he believed that the U.S. was indeed selflessly bringing freedom to Cuba by helping it throw off the yoke of Spain. But the Eagle had also taken the Philippines as a possession, and by 1899 was waging war against Filipinos who were trying to establish a republic. "Why, we have got in to a mess," Twain told the *Chicago Tribune*, "a quagmire from which each fresh step renders the difficulty of extrication immensely greater." The contemporary ring of that assessment is heightened by statistics. By 1902, when Philippine independence had been pretty much squelched, more than 200,000 Filipino civilians had been killed, along with 4,200 Americans.

As Twain got older and was beset by personal tragedies like the death of his beloved daughter Susy, his view of mankind grew darker. He once told his friend William Dean Howells that "the remorseless truth" in his work was generally to be found "between the lines, where the author-cat is raking dust upon it which hides from the disinterested spectator neither it nor its smell." But in 1900, when he could no longer stomach the foreign adventures of the Western powers, he came right out and called a pile of it a pile of it. In the previous year or two, Germany and Britain had seized portions of China, the British had also pursued their increasingly nasty war against the Boers in South Africa, and the U.S. had been suppressing that rebellion in the Philippines. In response, Twain published in the *New York Herald* a brief, bitter

"Salutation-Speech from the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth."

"I bring you the stately matron named Christendom," he wrote, "returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonored from pirate-raids in Kiao-Chow, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her mouth full of pious hypocries. Give her soap and a towel, but hide the looking-glass."

Later that year he published a long essay in the *North American Review*. It was called "To the Person Sitting in Darkness." The title was a biblical reference. The people in darkness were the unconverted, who had yet to see the blessed light. In fact, Twain pointed out, the problem was that they were seeing things too clearly. After years of exposure to Western colonialism, "the People Who Sit in Darkness... have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The Blessings of Civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light... and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus."

The new century did nothing to improve his disposition. In 1901, U.S. President William McKinley was assassinated. His successor was Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's 42-year-old Vice President, a blustery hero of the Spanish-American War whom Twain regarded as heedlessly adventurous in his foreign policy. "The Tom Sawyer of the political world of the 20th century," he called Roosevelt. Of course, Twain had been a great deal like Tom himself—as a boy, and as a man for that matter—but that was before becoming the conscience of a nation, "the representative, and prophetic, voice of principled American dissent," as his biographer Powers puts it.

Shortly after becoming President, Roosevelt made news by declaring, out of the blue, that "In God We Trust" should be removed from U.S. coins because they "carried the name of God into improper places." Twain responded, in conversation with Carnegie, that "In God We Trust" was a fine motto, "simple, direct, gracefully phrased; it always sounds well—in God We Trust. I don't believe it would sound any better if it were true."

Religiosity prevailed in Twain's era but not in his heart. Though one of his closest friends, Joseph Twichell, was a minister, Twain derided religions—Christianity, in particular—and the notion of a benevolent deity. His strongest written sacrileges were not published, however, until well after his death. He was a more interesting disbeliever in some ways than today's Bill Maher or Sam Harris or Christopher

**RIGHT:** Ailing former President Ulysses S. Grant works on his memoirs in June 1885. Twain published them later that year, earning large royalties for Grant's widow



*Naismith and his wife discuss the game he invented as a college student, which used peach baskets*



*Twain, left, with his friend Standard Oil executive Henry H. Rogers, circa 1907. Rogers had helped Twain out of bankruptcy a decade earlier*

**RIGHT:** Twain loved to travel by water. This picture was taken around 1908, after he published Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven, about a sailor who arrives at the wrong port



**1884**  
Twain starts his own publishing house. It releases Ulysses S. Grant's memoirs, which become a best seller.

**1885**  
Publishes *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which he had been working on for a decade.

**1891**  
Nearly broke, the family leaves for a cheaper life in Europe.

**1894-98**  
Twain embarks on a global lecture tour that forms the basis of *Following the Equator*.

**1896**  
Daughter Susy dies, age 24, while he is in London. Another child, Jean, would die in 1909 at age 29.

**1900**  
Begins writing polemical essays and moralistic fiction, attempting to combat the evils of the "damn'd human race."

**1904**  
His wife Olivia dies while they are in Florence, Italy.

**1910**  
Twain dies April 21, at age 74 and is buried in Elmira, N.Y.



**1880**  
The New York *Daily Graphic* publishes the first screened photograph, using the newly developed halftone process.

**1881**  
Former slave Booker T. Washington is selected to become principal of the new Tuskegee Institute.

**1883**  
Brooklyn Bridge is completed.

**1888**  
George Eastman perfects the Kodak, a camera for amateurs.

**1891**  
James Naismith invents basketball.

**1896**  
First motion-picture shown on a public screen.

**1898**  
Spanish-American War.

**1900**  
Olds Co. begins mass-producing automobiles in Detroit.

**1901**  
Marconi sends the first transatlantic telegraph.

**1903**  
Wright brothers make first flight.

**1904**  
U.S. takes over construction of the Panama Canal.

**1908**  
Ford introduces the Model T.



**America's Favorite Funnyman**  
For more photos of Mark Twain, go to [time.com/twain](http://time.com/twain)



Hitchens, who readily dismiss religion as inflammatory nonsense. Twain, who was full of inflammatory nonsense, could appreciate the indigenous blessedness he encountered around the world. Stopping in Benares, India, "the sacredst of sacred cities," Twain discovered that "Hindoos" venerate flower-garlanded phallic stones with enormous gusto, which led him to muse on the durability of the impulse to believe. "Inasmuch as the life of religion is in the heart, not the head," he observed, religions are hardy. "Many a time we have gotten all ready for the funeral" of one faith or another, "and found it postponed again, on account of the weather or something."

What put Twain off about religion was its bossiness and its alignment with corrupt community values that people—those standing to profit—insisted on calling a higher power. The very expression "moral sense" made him curl his lip. He denounced his own conscience, which frowned upon his anarchic instincts, his love of enjoyment, and made him feel guilty and rebellious.

The pivotal moment in *Huckleberry Finn* is when Huck decides not to do what his conscience tells him is right, to turn in "Miss Watson's Jim" as a runaway slave. Instead, he decides to abide by his personal affection for Jim, although the upshot will be, according to all he has been taught, eternal damnation for violating the norms of society and its view that a slave is the rightful property of its owner.

As Twain became increasingly angry over the years, less the jester and more the Jeremiah, there was grumbling in some quarters that he had been better when he was funnier. (You could call this the Woody Allen problem.) The New York *Times* accused him of "tumbling in among us from the clouds of exile and discarding the grin of the funny man for the sour visage of the austere moralist."

The *Times* had a point. As a social critic, Twain was most enjoyable when he followed his natural humorous tendency to denounce folly and iniquity in all directions. This is what he was doing in *Following the Equator* when he wrote, "All the territorial possessions of all the political establishments in the earth—including America, of course—consist of pilferings from other people's wash. No tribe, however insignificant, and no nation, howsoever mighty, occupies a foot of land that was not stolen. When the English, the French, and the Spaniards reached America, the Indian tribes had been raiding each other's territorial clothes-lines for ages, and every acre of ground in the continent had been stolen and restolen 500 times."

Try rallying a cause with that. Then



## The Essential Mark Twain

### The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County

Twain's first success, a tall tale that helped earn him his reputation as a humorist

### The Innocents Abroad

Twain travels through Europe and the Holy Land, skewering those places and also his fellow American "pilgrims"

### Roughing It

The author heads west to make his fortune, fails as a prospector but starts to develop a name as a wisecracking writer

### The Adventures of Tom Sawyer

The classic novel about a born rascal and the scrapes he gets into. The ultimate boys' book. And girls' book too

### Life on the Mississippi

Twain's journey from callow youth to riverboat pilot, amusingly and wistfully remembered 20 years later

### Adventures of Huckleberry Finn

One of the crown jewels of American literature. An alert boy and a runaway slave float down the Mississippi, on the lam from a corrupt civilization

### The Private History of a Campaign That Failed

Twain's recollection of his brief time as a Confederate irregular is a memorable account of the folly of war

### The United States of Lyncherdom

An angry, mocking essay condemning the murder of blacks by whites. Twain's version wasn't published until 2000

there's the long essay Twain produced in 1901, "The United States of Lyncherdom." This is not a single-minded polemic. It registers the horror of lynchings but also undertakes to empathize with people who attended them. Their motivation, Twain argued, is not inhuman viciousness but "man's commonest weakness, his aversion to being unpleasantly conspicuous, pointed at, shunned, as being on the unpopular side. Its other name is Moral Cowardice, and is the commanding feature of the make-up of 9,999 men in the 10,000..."

As a remedy, Twain proposed, tongue in cheek, that sheriffs might be dispatched to communities where a lynching was about to take place. If they could rally enough

citizens to oppose the hideous deed, that would make the anti-lynching position the new conventional wisdom that everyone would flock to conform to. But a problem—where to find enough sheriffs? Why not draft them from among the Christian missionaries spreading the malady of Western civilization in China? (Missionaries were a favorite target for Twain.) In China, he told his readers, "almost every convert runs a risk of catching our civilization... We ought to think twice before we encourage a risk like that; for, once civilized, China can never be uncivilized again... O compassionate missionary, leave China! come home and convert these Christians!"

There is something upsetting, off-balancing, about "The United States of Lyncherdom" that has kept it alive all these years. It's against lynching, all right, but it seems to take more of an interest in being against righteousness. It makes you wonder whether you yourself, possibly, or let's say your grandmother, might have appeared, smiling, in a photograph of a lynch mob. And just as you're about to block out that queasiness, Twain slams in a snippet of what a particularly despicable lynching (in Texas, as it happened) was like. Oh, God. (The man was slow-roasted to death over a coal-oil fire.) And then, when he starts taking off on the missionaries? I don't know that I want to express this opinion. But there's no getting around it: it's funny.

Not only was "The United States of Lyncherdom" politically incorrect, it still is. It blames one of the most shameful aspects of American history on moral correctness, the herd mentality that prevailed among Americans who regarded themselves as right thinking. Twain decided that the country, or at least his readership, was not ready for that essay. It wasn't published until 1923, when Twain's literary executor slipped it, hedgily edited, into a posthumous collection. Not until 2000 did it appear in its original form, and then in an obscure, scholarly publication. It takes a genius to strike the funny bone in a way that can still smart nearly 100 years later. The nation's highest official accolade for comedy is the Kennedy Center's Mark Twain Prize for American Humor, which will be awarded this November to the late George Carlin—another man whose commentary grew bleaker and more biting in his last years. But old Mark, unvarnished, might be too hot for cable, even, today. ■



Blount has written introductions for six editions of Twain's work. His next book, *Alphabet Juice*, will be published in October by

Farrar, Straus & Giroux



# Man of The World

In his lifetime, Twain was best known as a travel writer. Through five books, he narrated his journey from humorist to crusader

BY JACKSON DYKMAN

"It liberates the vandal to travel—you never saw a bigoted, opinionated, stubborn, narrow-minded, self-conceited, almighty mean man in your life but he had stuck in one place since he was born."

—MARK TWAIN, 1868

SAMUEL CLEMENS LIBERATED HIMSELF from Hannibal, Mo., with dreams of South America. He never made it, but Mark Twain kept moving and writing.

Along the way he twisted an aged form—the travel narrative—into something uniquely American. Twain didn't

"On the 19th day we crossed the Great American Desert—40 memorable miles of bottomless sand ... The road was white with the bones of oxen and horses."



The *Quaker City* Twain earned some lasting enemies with his portrayal of his fellow passengers in *The Innocents Abroad*.



just describe exotic sights; he thoroughly reimagined them with self-deprecation and enough comic invention to keep the reader guessing what really happened. He also demolished the writerly veneration of the Old World at the expense of the New. Yes, Americans could be boorish and loud, but Europe could be tired and sad. Be proud, he said to the home folks. Besides, the food over here is lousy.

After the success of *The Innocents Abroad*, Twain returned to the form over and over. A life of travel, which he once pronounced "fatal to prejudice," marked

Twain deeply. In his twilight years, on an around-the-world lecture tour, he saw far fewer innocents abroad. The man who had crossed the U.S. 35 years earlier without seeming to notice the crushing of Native Americans now decried the depredations of colonization and the eradication of native cultures.

Twain would spend the remainder of his life railing at the savagery and presumption of imperialism abroad and racism at home. Travel had liberated his vandal, but now he wished a lot of other people had just stayed home.



**The old man at sea**  
Traveling in 1895, Twain was angered by the mistreatment of colonial peoples

"To reproduce a Jerusalem street, it would only be necessary to upend a chicken coop and hang it before each window in an alley of American houses."



"Nothing has been left undone, either by man or Nature, to make India the most extraordinary country that the sun visits on his round."



**IN INDIA** "I could easily learn to prefer an elephant to any other vehicle, partly because of that immunity from collisions."

A hunting party on elephants, circa 1900



**IN EGYPT** Twain found the Sphinx "so sad, so earnest, so longing, so patient."  
Tourists at Giza, circa 1900



# Getting Past Black and White

It took a writer as deft and daring as Twain to teach Americans some useful lessons about race

BY STEPHEN L. CARTER

**M**ARK TWAIN HAS BEEN CALLED THE inventor of the American novel. It might even be fair to call him the inventor of the American short story. And he surely deserves an additional encomium: the man who popularized the sophisticated literary attack on racism.

I say *sophisticated* because antislavery fiction—some of it by former slaves—had been a staple of the years before the Civil War. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's*

*Cabin* is only the most famous example. These early stories dealt directly with slavery. With minor exceptions, Twain melded his attacks on slavery and prejudice into tales that were on the surface about something else entirely. He drew his readers into the argument by drawing them into the story.

Twain was born in Missouri, a slave state, and fought in the Civil War, however briefly, on the Confederate side. His

father occasionally owned a slave, and some members of his family owned many more. But Twain emerged as a man whose racial attitudes were not what one might expect from someone of his background. Again and again, in the postwar years, he seemed compelled to tackle the challenge of race.

Consider the most controversial, at least today, of Twain's novels, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Only a few books, according to the American Library Association, have been kicked off the shelves as often as *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain's most widely read tale. Once upon a time, people hated the book because it struck them as coarse. Twain himself wrote that the book's banners considered the novel "trash and suitable only for the slums." More recently the book has been attacked because of the character Jim, the escaped slave whose adventures twine with Huck's, and its frequent use of the word *nigger*. (The term *Nigger Jim*, for which the novel is often excoriated, never appears in it.)

But the attacks were and are silly—and miss the point: The novel is profoundly

**Old friends** Twain with John Lewis, who may have partly inspired the character of Jim in *Huckleberry Finn*; right, an illustration from the book



antislavery. Jim's search through the slave states for the family from whom he has been forcibly parted is heroic. As the Twain scholar Jocelyn Chadwick has pointed out, the character of Jim was a first in American fiction—a recognition that the slave had two personalities, "the voice of survival within a white slave culture and the voice of the individual: Jim, the father and the man."

There is much more. Twain's mystery novel *Pudd'nhead Wilson*—aside from being one of the earliest stories to hinge on the evidence of fingerprints—stood as a challenge to the racial convictions of even many of the liberals of his day. Written at a time when the accepted wisdom held Negroes to be inferior to whites, especially in intellect, Twain's tale revolved in part around two babies switched at birth. A slave gave birth to her master's baby and, concerned lest the child be sold South, switched him in the crib for the master's baby by his wife. The slave's light-skinned child was taken to be white and grew up with both the attitudes and the education of the slaveholding class. The master's wife's baby was taken for black and grew up with the attitudes and intonations of the slave.

The thrust was difficult to miss: nurture, not nature, was the key to social status. The features of the black man that provided the stuff of prejudice—manner of speech, for example—were, to Twain, indicative of nothing other than the conditioning that slavery imposed on its victims. At the same time, he was well aware of the possibility that the oppressed might eke out moments of joy amid their sorrows. This was the subject matter of a sprightly little tale titled *A True Story, Repeated Word for Word as I Heard It*, published in the 1870s. The narrator asks his 60-ish black servant, Aunt Rachel—who spent most of her life as a slave—why she is so happy all the time. The story is her answer, and I will not spoil it other than to suggest that Twain manages, in just a few pages, to lead us through the complexities of seeking happiness when your life is literally not your own.

If slavery was wrong, was it worth fighting a war to destroy it? Twain seems to have thought so. Indeed, his underappreciated short story *A Trial* may be viewed as a justification for the Civil War. A *Trial* tells of a ship's captain who dotes on his first mate, a black man. The ship docks at an

island, where Bill Noakes, the self-proclaimed toughest man on the island, charges on board and demands to fight the captain, who promptly dumps him into the water. The next night, the same thing occurs. A week later, evidently enraged by his humiliation, Noakes murders the captain's beloved mate. The captain storms ashore and tells all the other captains that he means to hang Noakes for murder. They insist on a trial. The captain argues that none is necessary, since everyone agrees that Noakes is guilty, and then proposes to do the hanging before the trial. But in the end, the trial is held, Noakes is convicted, and the captain hangs him.

The analogy to the Civil War is clear. At first Noakes is merely an irritant whom the captain is satisfied merely to fight and hold at bay. Only after Noakes murders the Negro mate does the captain suddenly gird for battle, demanding an end to the man's life despite the objections of the

## Twain melded his attacks on slavery and prejudice into tales that were, on the surface, about something else entirely

other captains, who seem to want him to be treated more gently. It is by the captain's single-minded will that Noakes is brought to justice—much like Lincoln's single-minded will in fighting a war that began as a struggle over union and was transformed into a holy war against slavery.

Twain himself, of course, joined up on the Southern side. In his justifiably famous 1885 essay *The Private History of a Campaign That Failed*, he describes how he knocked about from one position on the war to another, evidently following in the footsteps of his buddies. One striking aspect of his tale is the groping inability of any of the several members of his ragtag militia to assign a reason for their struggle. The essay is in that sense better understood as a part of Twain's significant antiwar oeuvre, a category in which, for example, his essay *The War Prayer* also belongs. So does *Captain Stornfield's Visit to Heaven*, in which we discover exactly where great generals rank.

Twain plainly thought war a foolish thing, and when, in *Private History*, he pulls his gun and kills a man riding through the

woods, thinking him an enemy, we can feel for Twain and his young companions, standing there trembling in the darkness, wishing they could bring their victim back to life. After only two weeks' service, he resigned his commission. In his autobiography, Twain explains that he was "incapacitated by fatigue" through persistent retreating."

Relations between blacks and whites were hardly the limits of Twain's concern over race. His essay *Disgraceful Persecution of a Boy* discusses a young man arrested in San Francisco for "stoning Chinamen." After laying out the many ways in which Chinese immigrants were persecuted in California, Twain expresses little surprise that the young man might have learned to say to himself, "Ah, there goes a Chinaman! God will not love me if I do not stone him." Twain's essay *About Smells* notes that in Heaven, one will meet people of all races—he lists a few—but not, alas, the "good Christian friend" who spends all his time complaining.

Twain's racial pitch was not perfect. One is left uneasy, for example, by the lengthy passage in his autobiography about how much he loved what were called "nigger shows" in his youth—these were minstrel shows, mostly with white men performing in blackface—and his delight in getting his prim mother to laugh at them. Yet there is no reason to think Twain saw the shows as representing reality. His frequent assaults on slavery and prejudice suggest his keen awareness that they did not. The shows were simply a form of entertainment popular all over the country in the 19th century, a part of the background against which he grew into his firm adult convictions.

Was Twain a racist? Asking the question in the 21st century is as sensible as asking the same of Lincoln. If we read the words and attitudes of the past through the pompous "wisdom" of the considered moral judgments of the present, we will find nothing but error. Lincoln, who believed the black man the inferior of the white, prosecuted and won a war to free him nevertheless. And Twain, raised in a slave state, briefly a member of a Confederate militia, and inventor of Jim, may have done more to rile the nation over racial injustice and rouse its collective conscience than any other novelist in the past century who has lifted a pen.

Or typed on a computer. ■



Carter is the William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law at Yale. His third novel, *Palace Council*, will be published this month by Knopf

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**Cheap eats** Colicchio, left, and Stein serve up homemade fennel pork loin and pasta vegetariana

The costs of other staples like eggs and cheddar cheese have also gone way up. And since Americans have been spending about 10% of their income on food for the past 25 years or so, rising prices do not mean people are eating less—they're just buying cheaper stuff. "We're seeing less meat and more pizza, sandwiches, Italian pasta and casserole-type dishes," says Harry Balzer, who tracks food trends for the NPD Group, a market-research firm. "The real change that occurred in the last bout of inflation was that one of the cheapest meats became more popular: chicken."

Colicchio has the same instincts as most consumers. In fact, when I asked a bunch of famous chefs to come up with a family meal for around \$10, almost all of them gave me recipes for chicken or pasta. I had expected them to load up on organ meats or weird cuts people only eat in other countries. But Colicchio is in deep contemplation over a London broil steak for \$6.75. Ham is too expensive, as are asparagus, fresh fish and even (when I bring them to him giggling) cow's feet. Instead, Colicchio considers first a beef stew and then some chicken drumsticks, which he'd stuff with bread crumbs. "This is where people make mistakes," he says, looking at the poultry section. "People are going to grab chicken breasts because it's easy. A breast and a half is \$8. This whole chicken is \$6.50. You can use the bones for soup." He also rejects any packaged items. "The key is staying

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**David Myers**  
Sona in Los Angeles  
Spaghetti with Pancetta  
and Chili Flakes



**Tyler Florence**  
Host of Tyler's Ultimate  
on the Food Network  
Roast Chicken with Lemon,  
Garlic and Fresh Bay Leaves



**Suzanne Goin**  
Lucques in Los Angeles  
Braised Chicken with Paprika,  
Couscous and Date Relish



**Eric Ripert**  
Le Bernardin in New York City  
Rice and Beans, Green Salad  
and Banana Flambé



**Charlie Palmer**  
Aureole in New York City  
Orecchiette "Risotto" with  
Pancetta and Goat Cheese

away from all processed foods. Even beans. A bag of dry beans is cheaper than a can of beans." Because Colicchio volunteers with Share Our Strength, a charity that fights childhood hunger, he knows how hard it is for families to get by on a low food budget. "You can do this, but it's tough," he says. "Look how much time we're spending. If you're a working mom, you don't have time to look around like this. And you have to know how to cook and grow your own herbs."

After half an hour, he chooses a pork loin that he'll cook along with spaghetti in a sauce of fennel, eggplant, zucchini, onion and a small store-brand can of peeled whole tomatoes. "I'd rather have a nice Italian Cento brand, but it's going in a sauce, so I don't think it needs to be great," he says of the tomatoes. This pasta is something he'd make at home, where he often combines spaghetti with broccoli, garlic, olive oil and Parmesan cheese or, more often, with bacon, cabbage and cannellini beans. I ask him why he didn't consider a rice dish, and he looks at me like I've never met an Italian. "I don't like rice," he says.

Though Colicchio has quickly become an expert at using Ralph's vegetable scale, when we go to the register, the tab is more than \$12. We put back one of the zucchini, but that cuts off only 50¢. Eric, our register guy, lets us scan a Ralph's Club card, and we're down to \$11.88. Eric is a man who can feel the pain of a superstar chef on a magazine's expense account trying to pull off an arbitrary economic experiment.

We head to my house, since Colicchio figures he'll be too tempted to cheat at Craft by stealing from the pantry. He snips some basil from my garden, takes some Parmesan from my fridge and spends half an hour doing what he calls cooking and what I call making me realize how lame I am. I didn't know I am supposed to sharpen my knives every time I use them. Or that I should use so much oil. Or clean as I go along. He made fun of me for wanting to time things and for buying prepeeled garlic. (I also had whole bulbs, which he used.) He washed his hands after he sneezed, which I suppose I should start to do too.

The food turns out great, and it actually feeds five for lunch: Colicchio, me, my wife, the photographer and his assistant. And we down it with a \$2 bottle of Charles Shaw, which is actually just fine. I'm going to make it through these tough economic times. Because my job leaves me more than enough time for shopping and growing herbs.



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## HEALTH

# Stem-Cell Therapy for Pets. Sorry, people. A new treatment for ailing joints is only for pooches (and cats and horses)



BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN

SOME PETS STOP JUMPING ON FURNITURE because they get disciplined; others stop because they get arthritis. Joint pain and stiffness can become so severe that many older dogs can barely walk, let alone lift a leg to urinate. Anti-inflammatory drugs can help, as can the four-legger's equivalent of a wheelchair, but a new treatment using a combination of stem and precursor cells—which is so cutting edge it is not yet available for use in humans—appears promising. Consider the case of 4-year-old Blue. Last fall her veterinarian in Memphis, Tenn., recommended a full hip replacement to treat the German shepherd's hip dysplasia, a fairly common degenera-

tive condition in dogs and cats, as well as humans. Before deciding whether to make Blue undergo major surgery, her owner, Twila Waters, went to another local vet, Kathy Mitchener, to ease Blue's pain with acupuncture. But Mitchener had an even more unusual idea. She suggested a cell transplant to help Blue's hip repair itself.

The technique is being promoted by San Diego-based Vet-Stem, which launched an online training course in January to teach the procedure to vets around the country. Mitchener is one of more than 1,000 vets who have since logged on as the company moves to mainstream the use of stem and stemlike cells to treat arthritis and tendon and ligament injuries. In January, Mitchener removed some fat from Blue's abdo-

men and overnighted it to Vet-Stem, where centrifuges were used to extract a collection of cells with the greatest regenerative potential. The next day Mitchener injected these cells into Blue's hip. And within 36 hours, Waters says, "Blue was moving well and you could see an ease in her gait."

But when it comes to commercial stem-cell therapies, experts advise caution. Some firms may be pushing expensive treatments, says Sean Morrison, who runs a stem-cell lab at the University of Michigan, "that amount to modern snake oil."

## VET-STEM BY THE NUMBERS

**\$2,000**

Typical cost of transplanting cells, derived from an animal's fat, into its ailing joints

**3,249**

Number of dogs and horses whose owners have paid vets for the procedure as of June

**80%**

Percentage that show improvement; fewer than 1% have a minor negative reaction

Vet-Stem, which is investigating whether transplanting fat-derived cells works in humans, reports that 80% of its animal patients show some sign of improvement and that the procedure poses few risks because patients are treated with their own cells. But stem cells don't come cheap. A cycle of Vet-Stem treatment generally costs upwards of \$2,000. (Canine hip replacement can cost four times as much.) The company's founder, Dr. Robert Harman, says that because of the big price tag, he initially thought wealthy horse owners would be his primary clientele. "Turns out there's not quite the same emotional attachment to horses as in the small animal world," he says. "It used to be if your dog got sick, you just got a new dog. Now people want the best care, and they want to pay for it."

## USER'S GUIDE

# The Better Browser.

Firefox 3 is free—and well worth it



Do you have Firefox 3 yet? Since June 17, more than 22 million folks have downloaded the latest version of the Web's second most popular browser. (If you're not among them, hie thee to [www.getfirefox.com](http://www.getfirefox.com). I'll wait for you.) While Microsoft's Internet Explorer is still the most installed browser in the world—mainly because it ships on the vast majority of new PCs—Firefox is the one that tech folks tend to love. Free, open source and built by thousands of volunteers worldwide, Firefox is kind of the Web's home-team favorite—as independent and full of promise as the Internet itself. Firefoxers even tried to set a Guinness World Record for most downloads

(8.2 million) in a 24-hour period. Since no one currently holds that title, it's a safe bet that Firefox 3 will claim it. Other reasons for the mad rush: Firefox 3 is stable, meaning it hardly ever crashes. It's fast. You'll see performance differences on sites like Gmail. It's secure. Pop-up alerts tell you when you're visiting sites suspected of pushing virus-laden software or "phishing" scams—pretending to be, say, your bank, in an attempt to get account information. And with more than 5,000 add-ons to choose from, you can change everything about Firefox from the way it looks to how it behaves. Not a bad deal for free. —BY JOSH QUITNER

## LEGAL NOTICE

*In re Trans Union Corp. Privacy Litigation*, Case No. 00-CV-4729, MDL Docket No. 1350,  
U.S. Dist. Ct., N. Dist. Illinois, Eastern Division, Judge Robert W. Gettleman

# If you had a credit card, loan or credit account, you could get benefits from a class action settlement.

*Para una notificación en Español, llamar o visitar nuestro website.*

A settlement worth at least \$75 million has been reached with Trans Union LLC and Acxiom Corporation ("Defendants") in a class action lawsuit that claims the Defendants violated state laws and the Fair Credit Reporting Act ("FCRA") when they sold lists containing personal and financial consumer information to third parties for marketing purposes. The settlement does not mean the Defendants violated any laws or did anything wrong. The Defendants deny any claims of wrongdoing in this case.

The United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois will have a hearing to decide whether to give final approval to the settlement, so that benefits can be issued. Those included in the class action, together called a "Class," may object to the settlement or ask to speak at the hearing. Eligible Class members may also sign up for credit monitoring or other benefits from the settlement. For more information, including a detailed notice, go to [www.ListClassAction.com](http://www.ListClassAction.com) or call, toll-free, 1-866-416-3470.

## Who's INCLUDED?

The Court decided that the Class includes all consumers who had an open credit account or an open line of credit from a credit grantor (including, for instance automobile loans, bank credit cards, department store credit cards, other retail store credit cards, finance company loans, mortgage loans, and student loans) located in the United States anytime from January 1, 1987 to May 28, 2008.

## WHAT DOES THE SETTLEMENT PROVIDE?

The settlement will: (1) establish a \$75 million Settlement Fund; (2) give Class members the option of selecting six or nine months of credit monitoring services; (3) donate \$150,000 to non-profit organizations; (4) pay for settlements or judgments for damage claims related to lawsuits brought individually by Class members against the Defendants; (5) pay class counsels' attorneys' fees and their expenses; (6) pay the costs of notice and administering the settlement; and (7) distribute any money remaining (after deducting the costs for everything listed above) in the Settlement Fund to Class members who register for a payment or to non-profit organizations.

The six months of credit monitoring services (which retails for \$59.75) include: (1) the ability to lock your credit report so third parties, such as lenders or other companies, will not be able to access your credit report without your consent (unless allowed by law); (2) unlimited daily access to your Trans Union credit report and credit score; and (3) credit monitoring with a 24-hour email credit notification service. The nine months of enhanced credit monitoring services (which retails for \$115.50) includes all the services listed above, plus a suite of insurance scores and a mortgage simulator service. If you get the enhanced credit monitoring you will not be able to get a payment from the settlement or start an individual lawsuit. More details on all of

the settlement benefits are available in the Settlement Agreement which can be obtained at [www.ListClassAction.com](http://www.ListClassAction.com) or by calling, toll-free, 1-866-416-3470.

## HOW DO YOU ASK FOR BENEFITS?

To receive credit monitoring from the settlement you must go to [www.ListClassAction.com](http://www.ListClassAction.com) and register by **September 24, 2008**. If you register, you will have six months after the Court grants final approval to the settlement and all appeals are resolved to activate your credit monitoring benefit. You may also register at the website or by mail until **September 24, 2008**, to receive a possible cash payment.

## YOUR OTHER RIGHTS.

Whether or not you seek any benefits being offered as part of this settlement, all Class members will not be able to participate in a class action or join multiple plaintiffs in a single action. You may object to the settlement by **August 22, 2008**. The detailed notice explains how to object. Your options for benefits provided by the settlement are as follow:

- **File an individual lawsuit against Defendant(s) for claims related to target marketing and prescreening:** You can also sign up for six months of credit monitoring.
- **Sign up for six months of credit monitoring services:** You can also register to receive a possible cash payment in the event of a cash distribution or file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- **Sign up for nine months of enhanced credit monitoring services:** You will not receive any further benefits, including a cash payment, and you will not be able to file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- **Register to receive a possible cash payment:** You can also sign up for six months of credit monitoring; however if you receive a cash payment, you cannot file an individual lawsuit against the Defendants.
- **Do Nothing:** You won't get any benefits. You will keep your right to sue the Defendants individually (see the detailed notice and Settlement Agreement for more information).

The Court will hold a hearing in this case on **September 10, 2008**, at Courtroom 1703, Everett McKinley Dirksen Building, 219 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60604, to consider whether to approve the settlement, and set a date to consider a request by Class Counsel for attorneys' fees of up to 25% of the Settlement Fund, and reimbursement of costs and expenses. Class Counsel will also request a payment of up to \$3,750 for each of the Class Representatives who helped the lawyers on behalf of the whole Class. Class members may ask to appear and speak at the hearing at their own cost, but they don't have to. For more information, call, toll-free, 1-866-416-3470 or go to the website shown below.

**[www.ListClassAction.com](http://www.ListClassAction.com)**

**1-866-416-3470**





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**Health.com**  
Where to turn

Projects include fabrics that track biochemicals in sweat and sheets that monitor depression

SALLY MCGRANE ON HIGH-TECH TEXTILES

# Global Business

THE G-8 SUMMIT ■ TEXTILES ■ SMALL BUSINESS

## THE G-8 SUMMIT

### The Green Link Uniting Old Foes.

China wants clean tech; Japan has it to sell. Why necessity could trump animosity

BY MICHAEL SCHUMAN/TOKYO

AN 11-STORY BUILDING IN BEIJING IS ONE of the few places in China where you'll hear people speak fondly of Japan. Inside are the offices of the Sino-Japan Friendship Center for Environmental Protection, where experts study how Japan became one of the world's greenest countries, with the aim of applying those lessons and methods to China. "Japan, on an international level, is a responsible country," says the center's vice director, Xia Guang. "We recognize that Japan's work promoting environmental protection in China has real seriousness, and we thank the government and people of Japan."

It's hard to fathom China's thanking Japan for anything. The relationship between the two Asian giants has been strained for decades and occasionally erupts into open hostility. Japan perceives China as a rising economic competitor and a rival for



political influence in Asia. Many Chinese still believe Japan never properly repented for its brutal invasion of China during the 1930s and '40s. Only three years ago, that resentment exploded into anti-Japan demonstrations in several Chinese cities.

Yet on the issue of the environment, the two nations have strong reasons to heal past wounds. So do lots of others. Pick a pair of developed and developing nations—the

U.S. and Russia, Germany and Poland, Britain and India—and there is history, but at the same time beckoning opportunity. At next week's G-8 summit, to be held in Japan, the leaders of the world's most advanced economies hope to make headway on one of the biggest opportunities: an agreement to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions that would succeed the Kyoto Protocol, which expires in 2012.

The U.S. never ratified the Kyoto Protocol, but last year President Bush embraced the idea of a long-term reduction in greenhouse-gas emissions. G-8 representatives are trying to craft an agreement to cut emissions 50% from 1990 levels by 2050. The U.S. may push for even deeper cuts in the future. The Republican nominee, John McCain, has called for a 60% reduction over the same period; the Democratic contender, Barack Obama, would like to see an 80% cut. Bush and the GOP, reflecting U.S. auto-industry concern about changing public opinion on global warming, accepted tighter auto-emission standards this spring after years of resisting them.

As the world's biggest energy user, the U.S. is part of the problem. The opportunity is that reducing greenhouse gas offers environmental as well as economic benefits. Green tech is leapfrog tech: it will allow emerging economies to jump to the leading edge.

That's certainly true of China and Japan, which, despite their animosity, need each other desperately. China's costly and wasteful use of energy and escalating environmental degradation threaten the sustainability of its economic boom. Japan, one of the greenest, most energy-efficient countries in the industrialized world, is brimming with the know-how that could help China alleviate these problems. China could benefit from Japanese technology in everything from advanced nuclear reactors to clean steel mills to hybrid cars. And Japan has every incentive to sell that technology to generate new business for its otherwise sluggish economy. That's why the environment was a prominent topic of discussion when China's President Hu Jintao and Japan's Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda met in Tokyo in May.

The more China roars, the more pollution pours out of all its new Buicks, coal-fired power plants and cement factories. Last year China surpassed the U.S. as the world's top producer of greenhouse gases. Major upgrades are needed to its power stations, steel mills and chemical factories. Not only does Japan have the technology and money to help China, India and the rest of emerging Asia reduce emissions, it also has the will to share them. The Japanese government sees environmental assistance as a way to bolster its waning influence in the region, a phenomenon its people lament as "Japan passing."

Japan certainly knows how to transform developing economies from energy wasters to energy savers after surviving its own era of environmental destruction.

Much like China today, Japan in the 1950s and '60s placed modernizing industry and elevating incomes above improving the environment and public health. The air in Japanese cities was so filthy that residents walked around in masks. In the 1970s, the nation was also alarmed by the two oil shocks, which exposed its vulnerability to the global oil market. A consensus formed that Japan needed to balance growth with greater conservation, and a nationwide effort was launched to reduce energy use and clean up the environment. The result: for every dollar of GDP generated, Japan uses only one-eighth as much energy as China. "Japan was a front runner in economic development in Asia and suffered some bitter experiences," says Ichiro Kamoshita, the nation's Minister of Environment. "Japan wants the countries that are now trying to

from China's economic boom. Selling eco-friendly technology is potentially big business, and one in which Japanese firms still have a tremendous competitive advantage. Toshiba's Westinghouse unit, for example, (yes, once part of a famous U.S. company) is building four advanced nuclear reactors in China at about \$3 billion to \$4 billion each. Nippon Steel, Japan's largest steelmaker, introduced a type of eco-friendly coke-making technology called dry-quenching in China that has become widely used throughout the industry. It produces the coke, a form of carbon essential for making steel, by cooling it with nitrogen rather than water, which significantly reduces the amount of carbon dioxide released. The resulting steam is captured and used to produce electricity. Nippon has supplied about 30 of these systems at an estimated

\$20 million to \$40 million each. In 2003, Nippon Steel set up a joint venture with Shougang, a Beijing-based steelmaker, to develop energy-efficient technologies in China.

Serious problems remain, however. Some Japanese firms are wary of selling their best technology to China out of a justified fear that it could be stolen. Beijing's lax protection of intellectual-property rights "is the biggie that is hampering technology transfer into China," says Jennifer Turner, director of the China Environment Forum at the Washington-based Woodrow Wilson International Center. In other cases, such as solar-power generation, the technology is simply too expensive for China.

Another hurdle is popular distrust in aiding China at all. The Japanese public questions why Japan should expend its resources assisting a nation that is rapidly becoming its chief competitor. The short answer is that if Japan doesn't, someone else will—and will reap the rewards. Yet Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs discontinued new loan projects to China this year, although existing loans will be honored, and other types of aid, like technical assistance, will continue.

The potential benefits of cooperation on the environment, however, are compelling. "The environment is a mutual problem," says Environment Minister Kamoshita. "So, concretely, we benefit by working together." If so, a repaired relationship between Japan and China could make the war against global warming a lot easier to fight.

—WITH REPORTING BY COCO MASTERS, YUKI ODA AND MICHIO TOYAMA/TOKYO, AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING AND MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ■



Cleaner energy China needs to upgrade its coal-fired power plants

develop to become prosperous without going through such bad experiences."

Japan has shared much of its top technology with China. Since the 1990s, Japan has sponsored 18 "model projects" in China, through which the government finances the installation of the latest Japanese emissions-reducing and energy-saving systems—for example, facilities that capture the heat and pressurized-gas by-products of cement and steel manufacturing, and garbage-incineration plants to generate electricity.

Environmental protection isn't just a good-neighbor policy; it's an industry, and a new way for Japan to turn a profit

## Beijing's record of lax protection of intellectual-property rights 'is the biggie that is hampering technology transfer into China.'

—JENNIFER TURNER, DIRECTOR, CHINA ENVIRONMENT FORUM



THE TOKYO ELECTRIC POWER CO., INC.  
www.tepco.co.jp/en

# Safe and Sound Against All Odds

How TEPCO's Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station survived a major earthquake with minimal damage

TOP: An aerial view of the Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station  
RIGHT: Workers are busy inspecting the power plant facilities  
BELOW: General manager Kenji Sugai

At precisely 10:13 a.m. on July 16, 2007 the ground began to rumble around Niigata, near the west coast of Honshu, Japan's main island. Just offshore was the epicenter of 6.8-magnitude earthquake—a mere 16 km from the world's largest nuclear power station, operated by Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO). At that time, three of the facility's seven reactors were at full power, one was in start-up mode, and three others were stopped for annual maintenance.

"When the earthquake struck, the first thing I had in mind was the status of the control rods, and it never left my mind until the shaking stopped," said Unit 1 shift supervisor Kazuya Yamada. The Niigata Chuetsu-Oki



earthquake did indeed shake up the Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station. There was a small leakage of radioactive water<sup>1</sup> and other materials<sup>2</sup>, but it was well below naturally occurring levels. Most importantly, the facility's safety systems, including

"shutdown," "cooling" and "containment" performed according to design.

The station's seven reactors have an 8,212 MW gross installed capacity and occupy an area of 4.2 square kilometers, making Kashiwazaki-Kariwa the largest nuclear power plant in the world. It's also responsible for close to 20% of the electric power for the greater Tokyo area. So when an earthquake forced the plant to shut down, Japan and the world took notice.

"The shaking lasted for about 10 seconds but it seemed a lot longer," said Unit 2 shift supervisor Toshihiro Mesaki, who made sure the reactor's emergency shutdown initiated.

"Thanks to quake-resistant engineering, the reactor building and the main control room were serviceable," said Mesaki. "So we were able to closely monitor shut down and cool down."

All control rods for the four reactors operating at the time of the quake were fully inserted as designed to secure the safety of the reactor.

After the initial shut down, general manager Kenji Sugai instructed power station workers to expend all means possible to cool the reactor water, which must be cooled from 286°C to under 100°C. All four reactors were cooled down by 6:54 a.m. on the day following the quake.

"In the first 21 hours after the quake, all staff members bravely did their best under extremely trying circumstances. And over the next seven days, everyone worked especially hard to clean up and assess the overall picture of the power station," said Takuro Masuda, one of the station's senior staff members.

At this time, TEPCO has completed the visual in-core inspection of all seven reactors and set ground movement standards (Ss) based on analysis of seismic data. The standards are being discussed in various governmental committees. And the plant's structures and systems are being reinforced to guard against future earthquakes.

## IAEA Review

In August 2007 and January 2008, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) conducted a thorough inspection of the Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station in Japan, brought about by the Niigata Chuetsu-Oki earthquake. A team of international experts assessed the station, taking the magnitude of the quake and the safety of the facility into account. The inspection found that the station's safety systems were functioning properly and that the station's structures and systems were reinforced to guard against future earthquakes. The inspection also found that the station's safety systems were functioning properly and that the station's structures and systems were reinforced to guard against future earthquakes.



In retrospect, the severity of Niigata Chuetsu-Oki earthquake revealed some room for improvement in the Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station. Key areas include emergency preparedness of facilities for fire protection, seismic design for facilities of low seismic safety significance and establishment of a prompt and accurate accident reporting system. On the other hand, all safety functions were secured and no damage was detected to components of high safety significance.

Today, TEPCO management, employees, and cooperating companies are working together to build a safer, more disaster-resistant nuclear facility in the future.

<sup>1</sup> Approximately 1.2 cubic meters of radioactive water was released into the sea off a discharge equipment in approximately one-fortieth the natural annual exposure of the average person.  
<sup>2</sup> Radioactive noise and radioactive gaseous material were released into the environment at a discharge rate equivalent to approximately one-hundredth the natural annual exposure of the average person.

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## TEXTILES

## Smarter Clothes. Europe wants to own the market for fabrics that can monitor you and your environment

SALLY McGRANE/PAVIA

AT THE EUCENTRE, A RESEARCH SITE CO-FOUNDED BY THE ITALIAN CIVIL PROTECTION DEPARTMENT IN PAVIA, ITALY, A YOUNG ENGINEER dons a firefighter's uniform that has been in testing for six months. The first prototype of the Proetex project, the ordinary-looking navy blue jacket and pants contain high-tech fabrics that can keep track of a firefighter's vital signs, warn him if the fire is too hot up ahead, provide GPS readings of his position and alert the command center if he has passed out. The Eucentre engineer walks across the room, and the computer screen reacts. The interface reads MOVING: YES.

The same could be said of the \$63 million push by the European Commission (E.C.) to develop so-called smart fabrics and interactive textiles. Though the technology was pioneered in the U.S., the Europeans have taken the reins in a bid to revitalize their traditional-textile industry, which has been

hammered by Asian competition. "We want to develop state-of-the-art know-how that can't be found in Asia," says Andreas Lymberis, a scientific officer with the E.C. who has championed smart textiles. "Our purpose is to create a new market."

Bringing industry partners like Philips and traditional-clothing and -textile companies together with university researchers from across the E.U. and Switzerland, E.C.-funded teams have already produced

**'We want to develop state-of-the-art know-how that can't be found in Asia. Our purpose is to create a new market.'**

—ANDREAS LYMBERIS, SCIENTIFIC OFFICER WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

**The Proetex fire jacket** It tracks the wearer's vital signs and position and the fire's strength

prototypes with limited commercial availability, such as a tank top that wirelessly monitors cardiac patients and sports clothes that keep track of breathing. Other projects include fabrics that look and feel normal but are embedded with microcomputers, solar panels and energy-harvesting systems, as well as fabrics that measure blood oxygen levels and track biochemicals in sweat and bedsheets that monitor depression.

The world market for smart textiles is still small—about \$550 million in revenue in 2008—but that could double by 2010, according to Massachusetts-based Venture Development Corp. The challenge is to fit applications to the market, says Lutz Walter, R&D manager at Euratex, a group representing the \$326 billion European clothing and-textile industry. "In the medical field, there's high value added. But to be approved as devices takes to years," says Walter. "In other areas, it's price: How much are consumers going to be willing to pay for a smart jogging shirt or for a baby suit that detects sudden death syndrome?"

At the Spaulding Rehabilitation Hospital in Boston, researchers are testing a glove made by Smartex, an Italian smart-materials company, that tracks motor functions in poststroke patients. "We've been looking a lot into European groups for wearable tech," says Paolo Bonato, a professor at Harvard Medical School and the director of the Motion Analysis Laboratory at Spaulding. Bonato estimates that fabric-based wearable systems will be commercially viable in two to five years. "The clinical need is there," he says.

The development of these technologies is currently taking place largely in the biomedical and safety fields, but Annalisa Bonfiglio, a professor of electrical and electronic engineering at the University of Cagliari who coordinates the Proetex project, thinks sports could be the sector where the most potential lies. "Sportswear is an extremely powerful means for promoting the acceptance of these new technologies by common people," says Bonfiglio, noting that the technology Proetex develops for rescue workers could easily be used later for sports applications.

Smartex founder and University of Pisa biomedical-engineering professor Danilo De Rossi says there is no way of knowing if Europe will maintain its edge. "Right now we are leading in this field," he says, since Europe tends to be concerned with medicine, social welfare and the elderly, whereas the U.S. tends to focus on military technology. That could change. But in a business driven by technology rather than price, the Euros would still have a fighting chance. ■

TOYAKO

# Cool Earth, Cool Summit



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## G8 HOKKAIDO TOYAKO SUMMIT

JAPAN

### JULY 7-9, 2008



**福田康夫**

Yasuo Fukuda  
Prime Minister of Japan

At July's G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit, world leaders will discuss the world economy, environment and climate change, development and Africa, and political issues that must be tackled. In particular, climate change is a huge challenge, and humanity has no time to lose. The international community must urgently strengthen efforts to resolve this issue.

I look forward to welcoming world leaders to Toyako, an area of Hokkaido, which is rich with natural beauty, and having fruitful discussions that pave the way to a better world.



It is not just Hokkaido that is blessed with a rich natural environment that has fostered a distinctive culture, history and traditions. As you explore Japan, you will discover that the whole country is enriched with beautiful scenery. We are looking forward to your visit to Japan.

**Yokoso!  
JAPAN**



GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN



## SMALL BUSINESS

**Spice Girls.** With a fresh take on herbs, a pair of rookie entrepreneurs is stirring up the market for seasoning

BY JEREMY CAPLAN

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE, A PACKAGING idea comes along that changes a food category. Pringles proved you could stack potato chips in a can. Heinz showed you could sell an upside-down ketchup bottle. Now Katie Lubber and Sara Engram are hoping they've hit on a paradigm shift for the spice industry: single-use, premeasured packets that reflect how cooks actually use seasonings—one teaspoon at a time.

When they first stumbled on the concept in 2005, Lubber and Engram knew little about business and less about manufacturing. But as food lovers and avid cooks, they were tired of tossing out stale spices in jars that were half full—there's only so much nutmeg you can use in a year. By 2007, The Seasoned Palate (TSP) was shipping its first packages. A year later, the culinary entrepreneurs' Smart Spice brand is about to land in all 273 Whole Foods stores in the U.S. "This is the most innovative thing since the spice grinder," says Perry Abbenante, chief

grocery buyer for Whole Foods. "This is the next cool thing." Spices such as cumin, ginger and curry powder will come in colorful cardboard cartons that hold four teaspoon-size packets for \$2.99.

Shelf space in a chain like Whole Foods is the holy grail for culinary entrepreneurs. Most fail. Whole Foods evaluates

## Jar vs. Tin. Single-use organic packets take on bottles full of spice

CINNAMON



\$5.23 1.87 oz. (53 g)



\$9 12 1-tsp. packets

**CardaMoms** Lubber and Engram turned friendship and a love of cooking into a business

hundreds of new products every month and rejects about 85% of them.

Neither of these spice gals had any prior industry experience. Before meeting Engram, Lubber had been an art historian and a curator at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Engram was a longtime editor at the Baltimore Sun. The pair met through a friend and got to talking about spices. "We started thinking about why they go stale," says Lubber, "and about other categories that had exploded over the past 10 years, like tea, olive oil, vinegar and cereal." Sensing an opportunity, Lubber and Engram began gathering advice on how to build a spice company.

They chose to go strictly organic, with none of the additives or fillers low-end discounters rely on. They're hoping that style will help: the company's other line, TSP Spices, comes in sleek decorative 12 packet tins topped with colorful labels. And consumers like their story. "People sometimes joke that we're the Spice Girls," says Engram, "but that's a stretch, so I came up with the CardaMoms. Cardamom is the queen of spices, and we're always carting around our kids to things."

The U.S. spice market is worth about \$1 billion at retail and is dominated by McCormick, which is also based in Baltimore. TSP has four full-time employees to McCormick's 8,000, so no one is mistaking Lubber and Engram as a threat to the titan, whose annual global sales are \$3 billion. TSP is hoping for sales on the order of \$2 million to \$2.5 million in 2008. "It's as if they're the elephant and we're the fly," says Engram.

To operate at a volume high enough to distribute nationally, Lubber and Engram contract out most of their operations, from spice importing, labeling and packing to sales and distribution. They have yet to pay themselves a salary. Of the more than \$1 million invested in TSP so far, about \$500,000 has come from outside investors, the rest from the founders' pockets.

Gaining a significant share of the high-end spice market would be a notable accomplishment for the two career changers. TSP adviser Bob Burke, principal of Natural Products Consulting, who helped strategize for popular brands like Stonyfield Farm, Annie's Homegrown and Oregon Chai, says the two have a reasonable shot at success. "They're quick learners with an innovative concept that they execute with style and flair." Just as Annie's managed to take a bite out of Kraft's lock on the mac and cheese market, he says, TSP could eventually nibble out a nice niche in the spice world. ■

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WHAT DO YOU HAVE TO SAY?







The mighty few CSI founder Cohen, center, and his staff stay nimble internally by using open-source software development to access outside resources

## SMALL BUSINESS

# Collaborative Contagion. A Portland, Ore., software start-up helps states adapt open source to collect public-health data

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

EVERY DAY MILLIONS OF PARCELS ARE shipped around the world, each tracked with bar codes and databases. Yet what FedEx has long achieved with boxes, few states have mastered when it comes to tracking infectious diseases. "We've used the same system for 15 years," says Dr. Bob Rolfs, Utah's state epidemiologist. "It's so old that we still largely depend on paper charts, faxes and the telephone."

By federal mandate, that antiquated system soon has to be replaced—an upgrade Utah, like many other strapped states, can ill afford. Rolfs' predicament is what Collaborative Software Initiative (CSI), a start-up based in Portland, Ore., was created to solve. The 12-person firm specializes in bringing larger organizations together to build software to address large-scale problems at a reasonable price. Tracking infectious diseases is its latest challenge. "It's all about economies of scale," says CSI founder Stuart Cohen. "We save bigger entities mil-

lions of dollars by pooling their resources and hiring us to do the dirty work."

At the heart of what CSI does is the idea that two (or 100) hands are better than one. It's a model very familiar to Cohen, the former CEO of Open Source Development Labs, the nonprofit consortium behind the Linux operating system and the Firefox Web browser. At CSI, launched with \$1 million in venture capital, Cohen has again employed open source, allowing clients to adapt the firm's software to meet their needs. But he's monetized part of it. "We don't charge for the actual development," Cohen says. "Instead, companies pay us to service and manage the end product." Cohen expects annual subscription fees to be about 15% of development costs, which range from \$250,000 to \$3 million.

Since 9/11, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has been building a national database to detect and monitor outbreaks of measles, tuberculosis and other diseases. But many products designed to help states do so are

either too expensive or already outdated.

So CSI and the state of Utah—with help from Novell, its local tech company—have collaborated to assemble 15 core members, including doctors, nurses, epidemiologists and IT experts. Rolfs' staff reached out to local and county health officials to listen to their specific needs and then met regularly with CSI engineers, which let the developers revise the application frequently. "Open source allows us to provide high quality software releases early and often," says Mike Herrick, the project leader at CSI.

Utah is now testing the resulting product, which should soon be available to all 50 states. Then each state will be able to adapt the product for free but will need to hire CSI to manage its maintenance through contracts that cost up to \$450,000 a year. "We wanted to make sure that we build something useful, eventually to connect all states and the CDC," Cohen says.

To date, CSI's biggest customer is Wall Street, which needs data collection for regulatory compliance. Cohen's partner, Evan Bauer, formerly chief technology officer at Credit Suisse, has been using his clout with fellow CROs to persuade them to work with CSI rather than go it alone. It makes sense, since the same regs apply to all firms. "The dividends have been huge," Cohen says. "Public health is just the next frontier." ■

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# Arts

BOOKS MUSIC DOWNTIME



## BOOKS

**Guilty Pleasures.** What do writers read when they don't want to work? We asked some big names from the literary world what they dip into for enjoyment; the answers are instructive, about both writers and pleasure. Enjoy

## The Psychotic Japanese Mastermind



"ONCE UPON A TIME, IN a land far away, there lived a nameless monster. He was dying to have a name, so the monster made up his mind to set out on a journey to look for one." And so, in a

way, begins my guiltiest pleasure of all: *Monster* by Naoki Urasawa.

*Monster* is an 18-volume comic book (take that, Dickens), the story of Dr. Tenma, a brilliant, idealistic brain surgeon (how's that for a character?) who risks his career and engagement to save the life of an enigmatic young boy named Johan. Johan, natch, turns out to have been programmed from birth by a secret society to be the next Adolf Hitler (or perhaps the Devil himself) and is one of the weirdest, most attractive psychotic masterminds in literature. Forget Professor Moriarty or Hannibal Lecter; Johan could crumble them both for breakfast.

Good Dr. Tenma's epic quest to bring Johan to justice involves bodies galore, assassins, cross dressing, Nazi experiments, the Czech secret service,

### EXCERPT

"The driver, a black man in a button-down, blue shirt rolled down his window before they got there, regarded Lugo and his flashlight with a sober forbearance, a here-we-go-again tightness around the corners of his mouth... The girl in the passenger seat leaned back and murmured to him, 'Didn't I tell you?'"

Lush Life

Johan's beautiful twin sister, a vindictive ex-fiancee with a drinking problem, a Javert-like inspector who cannot forget anything and one of the creepiest children's books you'll ever read. Urasawa is a national treasure in Japan, and if you ain't afraid of picture books, you'll see why.

For those of you who like your suspense red-hot but with a beautiful beating heart, *Monster* is for you. "At last [the monster] had found a name, but there was no longer anyone around to call him by it."

By JUNOT DIAZ

Diaz won the 2008 Pulitzer Prize for fiction for his novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*

## An Atlas That Shrugs



I SUSPECT THAT many people will be reading political books this summer as the presidential campaign heats up. So to keep myself informed on at least the foreign policy

aspects of this national debate, I'm taking to the beach *Our Dumb World: The Onion's Atlas of the Planet Earth, Seventy-Third Edition*. There are many good atlases published each year, but this one promises "Fewer Clouds on the Maps; Curvier Latitude Lines; Bono Awareness Rating for Each Nation; and 30% More Asia." The guilty aspect of reading this book (especially in public) is that it's hilariously xenophobic, politically incorrect and equally insulting to all nations, religions and cultures. A typical entry, for Democratic Republic of Congo: "Like a zoo you get killed at." Or how about Argentina: "A beautiful Nazi retirement community"? What one can learn from the atlas, I'm not sure—I'm only up to Poland, which instructs me to "Rotate Page 360 Degrees to Read." The editors and contributors must have had fun writing these entries, delving into the dark recesses of their memories to unleash every prejudice, stereotype and national insult they've been suppressing since high school. Maybe it was cathartic. It's all very clever, and I'm certain some countries were a challenge. How do you make fun of the Vatican, for instance? Well, by calling it "the Catholic Disneyland, admission \$12, boys under 12 free." As a good Catholic, I found that offensive. And yet I laughed, and felt really guilty about it. So after Labor Day, maybe I'll go to confession. Or maybe I won't. How do I explain that I read the whole book cover to cover?

By NELSON DEMILLE

DeMille's next book, *The Gate House*, will be out in October



## The Beasts of His Youth

I'm returning to my roots and reading the *Dragonlance Chronicles* by Margaret Weis and Tracy Hickman. Those books helped get me through middle school. While writing my memoir, I tried to conjure that time, but I didn't want to do much reading. Now I think I may go back and just get lost in them. My older brother Malik introduced me to them; we were both *Dungeons & Dragons* players. The characters felt so real—even the bit players were vivid to me. There was, of course, always the dissonance of being this black kid reading the sort of lit that you imagine angry skinheads reading. But I think I've made my peace with that. I can't wait to go back home.

By TA-NEHISI COATES, whose memoir *The Beautiful Struggle: A Father, Two Sons and an Unlikely Road to Manhood* came out in May



### Extra Guilt

To read more authors' choices, go to [time.com/guiltypleasures](http://time.com/guiltypleasures)



## Mating Under a Microscope

FOR OUR NEXT MEETING, my book club has selected *Bonk: The Curious Coupling of Science and Sex* by Mary Roach. This is a guilty pleasure not in the sense that it's a dumb read but in the sense

that if you found yourself on an airplane seated next to a nun (something that actually happened to one of the club members last time there was a naughty-themed selection), you'd probably think twice before taking it out of your bag. Roach is an entertaining, funny tour guide of past and current sex research—she good-naturedly refers to herself as a “sicko”—and the book is chock-full of juicy factoids you might, if you can manage to do so without blushing, drop at a dinner party. For instance, there's erectile tissue in the lining of the nose. I'm not yet finished reading, but I did flip ahead far enough to see an illustration of a rat wearing underpants; I can't wait to find out why.

**By CURTIS SITTENFELD**

*Sittenfeld's new novel, American Wife, will be published in September*

## Down-Under Drama



THE SUMMER I WAS 12, I stole my mother's paperback copy of *The Thorn Birds*, the epic and juicy novel by Colleen McCullough. It was a slow summer. My mother didn't go in for the idea of camp or

other organized activities. I remember my brothers and me watching a lot of television and eating powdered Jell-O. Mostly I lay in my bed and read. *The Thorn Birds* was the book I lived in. It was big, and my life was small. I lost track of the number of times I read it in the shamed way I lose track of the cookies I've eaten after passing the dozen



## The Slow, Fatal Dance of a Western

When Ron Hansen began his 1983 novel, *The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*, with a full five pages of character description—“He stuffed flat pencils into his pockets. He played by flipping peanuts to squirrels. He braided yellow dandelions into his wife's yellow hair”—it was easy to assume that his book was primarily about the outlaw James, but it ends up being as much about Ford, about the peculiar nature of celebrity, about evil, love and family in postbellum America. I am slowly rereading it this summer, savoring it, steered back to it by the fine 2007 film adaptation, with its wickedly good performance by Casey Affleck as Ford. I am reminded again of what a superb novelist Hansen is, and how, for storytelling, words far surpass picture and sound. I used to be dazzled by writers with extravagant vocabularies who played games with language and plot, but today I find my lasting respect is reserved for those, like Hansen, who write with feeling and wisdom, and whose fancy moves are all in service of story. This one unfolds like a slow, fatal dance. It is set against a spare, brutal, bygone Midwest superbly imagined, moment by moment, right down to alphabet samplers on kitchen walls, oilcloth, and scars from Civil War wounds “red as slaughter.”

**By MARK BOWDEN**, whose most recent book is *The Best Game Ever: Giants vs. Colts 1958 and the Birth of the Modern NFL*

mark. Going back and rereading it now, I remember almost every sentence. And it is good, full of longing and sacrifice. The names and places—Drogheda most of all—still hit my brain like poetry.

My single complaint, I remember, was the name of the leading man: Ralph. I think that's because in the other book I read that summer, Judy Blume's *Forever*, it's the name of something else entirely.

**By ANN BRASHARES**

*Brashares wrote the Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants novels and The Last Summer (of You and Me)*

## Alternative Universes, With a Hindi Glossary



I READ FICTION ADDICTIVELY to get as far out of this flat and blighted “real world” as I can. When a friend recommended Ian McDonald's *River of Gods*, I was dubious; 600 pages, including a

glossary of Hindi terms? But it worked, levitating me out of boarding areas and dentists' waiting rooms into India in 2047, where man-made beings—artificial intelligences—are running amuck, alternative universes pop into existence, and there's a war going on over water.

There aren't many literary sci-fi thrillers that deliver a mind-expanding metaphysical punch, and this one ended all too soon. But in the afterglow of McDonald's lushly blooming imagination, even the real world is looking better.

**By BARBARA EHRENREICH**

*Ehrenreich's This Land Is Their Land: Reports from a Divided Nation came out in June*

### EXCERPT

‘Bob sat on the bed in his gray underwear, his wrists crossed, his ankles clasped, incapable of movement. He could see that there was a gun on the nightstand to his left and could imagine its cold nickel inside his grip, its two-pound weight reached out and aimed.’

*The Assassination of Jesse James by the Coward Robert Ford*

## The New Urban Underbelly



WHEN IT COMES TO books, traditional guilty pleasures bring me little pleasure. Thrillers don't thrill me; spy novels rarely spook me. I prefer narrative nonfiction, what John McPhee calls the

literature of fact. Before this year, there were four novelists whose new works I couldn't wait to read: John Updike, Philip Roth, Don DeLillo and Richard Ford. They're all marvelous writers, but I feel free calling them guilty pleasures because they are older white men who have a brutally honest and decidedly male sensibility. Now I'll add Richard Price to that list. On a trip to Honolulu, I started *Lush Life*, and it took hold of me so much that I kept reading it during spring evenings at Kapiolani Park when I should have been luxuriating in the green expanse below Diamond Head. I was lost in New York City's world of cops, bartenders and punks, and Price had me deep inside the mixed-up brains of all of them.

**By DAVID MARANISS**

Maraniss's new book is *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed the World*



## Old-Fashioned Style, with Lots of Pulp

Late at night, under the covers, after my parents have put me to bed, I've been dipping guiltily into a tome titled *The Black Lizard Big Book of Pulp*, edited by Otto Penzler. This recent anthology, so massive it could be a murder weapon, contains hundreds of lurid crime stories from the glory days of pulp fiction, the '20s to the '40s, drawn from magazines with names like *Black Mask* and *Spicy Detective* and written by masters such as Raymond Chandler, Dashiell Hammett and James M. Cain, as well as dozens of lesser lights. I am savoring the bygone America depicted in this collection—not an America that actually existed but one conjured up in the dark imagination of early pulp writers, a hard-boiled urban landscape of speakeasies, rain-slicked streets, pool halls and Depression grit. Packed with wisecracking Irish cops, smarmy lipstick-dipped dames and greasy Italian gangsters, these tales contain just about every offensive stereotype you can imagine. But the cigar-chomping, whiskey-sodden mystery writers of yore sure as hell could tell a story—and as a storyteller myself, I am learning a great deal from them.

**By DOUGLAS PRESTON**, whose most recent mystery novel is *The Monster of Florence*

## An Old Wife's Tale



I'M AN EMBARRASSINGLY frequent (and happy) flipper-through of *How to Be a Good Wife*, a 2008 reprint of a 1936 handbook titled *Do's and Don'ts for Wives*. Inevitably much of the advice ("Do, if you have

only two reception rooms, abolish the drawing room") feels amusingly—or enragingly—antique. But who can pass up an admonition like "Are you a flirt? Because if you are, there is trouble ahead for you, as sure as eggs are eggs." You'll also find, in this seemingly obsequious guide, a tincture of feminist, even post-feminist, rebellion. The power structure is strong, this book seems to say, and not on your side, but the best way to handle this may be with cunning, high spirits, judicious flattery and taking care not to fight with a man while he's hungry. "After all is said and done, husbands are not terribly difficult to manage." Just be sure, apparently, to stay cuter and sweeter than that once very modern threat to wives, the office typist.

**By RIVKA GALCHEN**

Galchen's book *Atmospheric Disturbances* was published in May

## Pics of the Litter



BIG PICTURE BOOKS are the kind of thing an old English-literate major is sheepish about buying; thank goodness people give them for Christmas. Any books of historic

photographs, especially on Minnesota, will do: Minnesota barns, schoolhouses, stately homes, radio towers, women's basketball teams, aerial views of farms, Civil War pictures, lesbian lumberjacks in the north woods, centennial histories of small towns—so long as there is a big picture on each page and not too much text. I bought one, *American Writers at Home*, with beautiful photographs of Ralph Waldo Emerson's house, William Faulkner's, Robert Frost's, Mark Twain's, Ernest Hemingway's house in Key West, Fla., Herman Melville's little house in the Berkshires. I haven't been able to finish *Moby Dick* yet, but I've seen the desk he wrote it on and the room he and Mrs. Melville slept in.

**By GARRISON KEILLOR**

Keillor's next book is *Liberty: A Lake Wobegon Novel*, out in September

## And Finally, a List!



FOR FINE LITERATURE, Aidan Higgins' *Langrishe, Go Down* and *Flotsam and Jetsam*. For mystery buffs, Patrick McGinley's funny and gruesome Donegal stories. For the new wave in American lit-

erature, Junot Díaz's *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. For riveting political machinations, Rick Perlstein's *Nixonland* and Francisco Goldman's *The Art of Political Murder*. For keen pleasure, the Husain Haddawy translation of *The Arabian Nights*, enjoyed with Robert Irwin's *The Arabian Nights, a Companion*. For foreign literature, Ingo Schulze's *33 Moments of Happiness*, Yousef Al-Mohamed's *Wolves of the Crescent Moon*, Robert Walser's *Selected Stories* and, for lovers of melodrama, Carlos Ruiz Zafón's *The Shadow of the Wind*.

**By ANNIE PROULX**

Proulx's next book is *Fine Just the Way It Is: Wyoming Stories 3*, out in September

Compiled by Amy Lennard Goehner, Clayton Goodgame, Adam Goodman, Meaghan Haire, Callie Lefevre, Belinda Luscombe, Sarah N. Lynch and Claire Suddath

MUSIC

# The Best Rapper Alive. How Lil Wayne gave away his songs and got paid back a million times over. Hint: he's good

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL



LIL WAYNE HAS A SMOKE-scarred rasp that makes him sound like Redd Foxx covering Bob Dylan. It's hardly the voice you'd expect from a 25-year-old

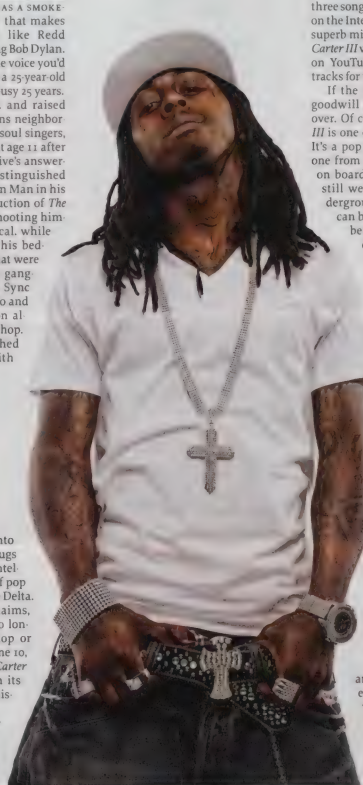
rap star, but then, it's been a busy 25 years.

Born Dwayne Carter Jr. and raised in Hollygrove, a New Orleans neighborhood famous for producing soul singers, Wayne signed his first deal at age 11 after rhyming on a record executive's answering machine. At 12, he distinguished himself by starring as the Tin Man in his gifted middle school's production of *The Wiz*—and by accidentally shooting himself in the chest with a .44-cal. while imitating Travis Bickle in his bedroom. After teenage years that were lost to the comically awful gangsta group Hot Boys (like 'N Sync with shivs), Wayne went solo and undertook a transformation almost unprecedented in hip-hop. Over four years, he morphed from a mediocre rapper with

## Wayne merges sex, drugs and politics with a freakish knowledge of pop culture and a voice out of the Delta

a huggish point of view into a savant who merges sex, drugs and politics with a sneaky intellect, a freakish knowledge of pop culture and a voice out of the Delta. Whether Wayne is, as he claims, the "best rapper alive" is no longer even debated in hip-hop or commercial circles. Since June 10, when his latest album, *Tha Carter III*, sold 1,005,545 copies in its first week, he's been the undisputed champ.

That number would be huge in boom times, but at a moment when most records languish on the racks like Depression apples, it's



titanic. It also represents the victory of a business model every bit as counterintuitive as Radiohead's. Most musicians still carefully dole out an album's worth of songs every few years to keep from saturating the market. *Vibe* magazine counted 77 new Lil Wayne tracks in 2007. Besides coughing out guest verses for seemingly anyone who asked, he sometimes recorded three songs in a night and gave them away on the Internet minutes later on a series of superb mix tapes. In June, just before *Tha Carter III* went on sale, Wayne announced on YouTube that he'd be releasing the tracks for free on a tape called *The Leak*.

If the charts are to be believed, his goodwill has been repaid many times over. Of course, it helps that *Tha Carter III* is one of the best albums of the year. It's a pop play—and smelling it, everyone from Jay-Z to Robin Thicke jumped on board with contributions—but it's still weird enough to sound like underground Lil Wayne. His wordplay can be thrilling ("My picture should be in the dictionary next to the definition of *definition*"), and no

other rapper finds as much joy in rhyming: "in the way," "everyday," "what we say," "cliché," "Andre 3K," "sensei" is a typical string from *Dr. Carter*, his prescription for what ails rap. But the impact owes more to his delivery than to his wit. Wayne isn't afraid to sound bizarre. On *Phone Home*, he rhymes like E.T., and throughout, he stammers, intentionally misses beats and defies most of the rules of contemporary rap. On *DontGetIt*, over a sample of Nina Simone's *Don't Let Me Be Misunderstood*, he tells a life story that veers into an indictment of drug laws and finishes some 1,200 words and 10 minutes later by dismissing Al Sharpton with a theatricality even the good Reverend would have to appreciate.

Wayne claims his rhymes are stream of consciousness, but even if they aren't, they sound as though they're hitting the air for the first time, unfolding with an electricity that's—forged the sacrilege—Dylanesque. Redd Foxx would probably dig 'em too. ■



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## 5 Things You Should Know About. Will Smith, surly superhero; Willie Nelson, cheerful also-ran; and Beck



### MOVIES

**Hancock** Directed by Peter Berg; written by Vy Vincent Ngo and Vince Gilligan; rated PG-13; out now  
This fable about a surly superhero rehabilitated by a nice p.r. guy (Jason Bateman) and his skeptical wife (Charlize Theron) tries to be many things at once—edgy, funny, twisty, sweet, poignant—and ends up less than satisfying on all counts. But it is also, and mainly, a Will Smith movie, which for his vast audience renders irrelevant our mark: **C+**



### TELEVISION

**Click & Clack's As the Wrench Turns** PBS, Wednesdays, 8 p.m. E.T.  
PBS tries to adapt Tom and Ray Magliozzi's hilarious public-radio automotive show as a "car-toon," and that lame pun is the funniest thing about it. Loaded up with pledge-drive jokes and toothless satire, it ditches their improv banter for scripted clichés that went out with the Chevette. This TV-radio hybrid looks polished, but it's a lemon. **D**



### MUSIC

**Beck** *Modern Guilt*; out July 8  
The lyrical gloom ("Some days are worse than you can imagine") keeps things squarely in Beck's depressive canon—but the music is a joy. Producer Danger Mouse layers each track with galaxies of psychedelic melodies and effects, then propels them with Joey Waronker's ferocious drums for a giddy retro-futurism. **A-**



**Willie Nelson and Wynton Marsalis** *Two Men with the Blues*; out July 8  
Willie must have 8 million versions of *Georgia on My Mind* in the can by now, and this bluesy duet with Marsalis doesn't crack the Top 1,000. But like the rest of the album, recorded during January 2007 performances at Jazz at Lincoln Center, it has an indolent charm. Best listened to with as little seriousness as possible—just the way it was made. **B-**



### BOOKS

**A Few Seconds of Panic** By Stefan Fatsis; out now  
At 43, Fatsis (*Word Freak*) joined the Denver Broncos and trained as a placekicker to find out what life is really like in the NFL. It turns out that life is a Darwinian nightmare. Stars are treated like pashas, but journeyman players live in constant fear that their bruised bodies will give out before they've rolled up enough cash for retirement. **A-**



### LITERARY PHENOM

## The Shack Of the Lord

SO A GUY WALKS INTO a cabin and meets a black woman, a Jewish guy and an Asian spirit-being. Turns out they're the Trinity. It's not the beginning of a joke; it's the premise of a privately published Christian novel, **THE SHACK**, that's become a surprise best seller. The guy, Mack, is returning to the shack where his youngest daughter was murdered three years earlier. God, or Papa, as she is known in the book, has invited Mack over to talk love, pain and more love. (The Jew is Jesus, and the Asian is the Holy Spirit.) The story becomes a standard guy-meets-God melodrama, heavy on the heartstrings and full of torrid and often turgid dialogue. The unorthodoxy of the representation of the Triune deity (Ellen DeGeneres also imagined the Almighty as a black woman in a routine) has delighted some Christians and upset others. William P. Young, the 53-year-old father of six who wrote the book in 2005 as a way of explaining his faith to his kids, takes some swipes at the church and turns the weep meter to 11. Largely on word of mouth, the novel has been a New York *Times* trade-paperback best seller for five weeks. There's talk, natch, of a movie. Does this mean Oprah finally gets to play God?

—BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE





Nancy

# Gibbs

## The Meaning of Summer Camp. It used to be about acquiring survival skills. Now it's the social skills that need work

I NEVER WENT AWAY TO CAMP, EVEN THOUGH—OR maybe because—my father became president of the American Camping Association (ACA) when I was a kid. He liked to joke that my idea of camping was room service. I might have resented this had it been any less true.

I suspected it was time to send my daughter off to camp even before the day the power went out in our neighborhood and she and a hungry friend tried to roast a hot dog over a candle. Absent electricity, they spent the days making ankle bracelets and playing board games and writing a play together because no power means no screens, no iChat, no Sims. So I wasn't looking for some fancy culinary camp or robotics camp or whatever is fashionable now, just for someplace that teaches the appropriate interactions of sticks, weenies and flame. With no plugs.

Camps have always reflected children's dreams and parents' fears. In the 1880s, many rising middle-class families worried that industrial society had broken off some piece of the American soul, some tie to the frontier. Boys were growing soft: too much time with their mothers and their teachers, not enough manly activity. So the early camps promised, as a founder put it, to take "weakly boys out into camp life in the woods ... so that the pursuit of health could be combined with the practical knowledge outside usual academic lines."

Those first campers were wilderness tourists; today a wilderness is anyplace without bandwidth. I did send my daughter to tennis camp two years ago, but that didn't really count since it lasted five days and she was allowed to use her cell phone. This defies what I suspect is now the whole point of sleepaway camp: if 19th century campers were meant to retrieve lost survival skills—trapping, fishing, gunnery—21st century campers need to work on their social skills. The winter issue of *Camping* magazine noted that today's campers are often missing some basic interactive instruments; fantastically digitally aware, they are less familiar with the ideas of sharing their space, their stuff or the attention of the adults around them. For kids who are allowed to text during dinner, who have their parents on speed dial for whenever they get in trouble or need a ride, who communicate using more acronyms than a four-star general, a little autonomy is probably long overdue.

So I applaud the effort of traditional camps to pull the plugs: the ACA found in a 2007 survey that at least 3 out of 4 camps make kids leave their gizmos at home. It probably tells us something that the resistance often comes not from the kids but from Mom and Dad. Parents have been known to pack off their children with two cell phones, so they can hand over one and still be able to sneak off and call. Camp expert Christopher Thurber reports that parents grill directors about why they can't watch their

kids' activities from a webcam or reach them by BlackBerry. Services like CampMinder and Bunk1.com do let camps post news and pictures to "help our families to feel as if they are with us at camp," as a Texas camp owner puts it. But that just invites inquiry about why Johnny looks sad or how Jenny's jeans got torn.

Even as they yield in varying degrees to the demands of hovering parents, camps have all sorts of nice ways to tell us our kids need a break from our eager interest and exhausting expectations. Camps talk about building "independence," argue that having kids learn to solve their own problems and turn to peers and counselors for support is a key part of the experience. The implications are clear. They're lighting campfires,

hiding and seeking, doing the spooky things campers do that feel wonderfully illicit if just because they involve getting dirtier than usual. Nothing to worry about, Mom.

I'm betting that more and more parents will find that our concern about kids' wired ways overtakes our desire to be in touch. I'll hate not talking to my daughter. But I agree with MIT psychologist Sherry Turkle, who says our gizmos are a "tethering technology," a new kind of apron string, strong albeit wireless, a safety net woven a bit too tight. When colleges report kids explaining their lateness to class with the excuse that their mother forgot their wake-up call, when a professor finds undergraduates communicating with parents more than 10 times a week, I look back on my once-a-week calls home to the parents I was very close to and wonder if this really counts as progress. Maybe it wouldn't be bad to practice distance, not just physical but psychological; let our kids take a walk alone in the woods, maybe do the same ourselves, and relish the fresh conversations we'll get to have when we are together again come summer's end. ■



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